

VERBS OF EXISTENCE IN TSHIVENDA

BY

KHAUKANANI WILSON TSHIKALANGE



***Assignment presented in partial fulfilment of
the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts
at the University of Stellenbosch***

***Study Leader: Prof. J.A. du Plessis
Date submitted: March 2000***

DECLARATION

I, the undersigned hereby declare that the research in this assignment is my own original work which has not partly or in full been submitted to any other University in order to obtain a degree.

Signature:

K.W. Tshikalange

Date

SUMMARY

This study examines the Predicate Argument Structure (PAS) of the verbs of existence with special reference to transitive and intransitive verbs in Tshivenda.

Chapter One is the introduction of this study. It states the purpose of study, theoretical framework, organisation of study as well as the predicate argument structure of the verbs of existence. The lexical – semantic representation (i.e. theta-roles) are also defined. A review of Chomsky's Government and Binding theory is given. The study also examines the different types of verbs of existence.

Chapter Two of this study examines the arguments of verbs of existence. The external NP argument in subject position will be considered with the features [+animate] i.e. (humans and animal) or [-animate]. The interpretation of the example sentence of the arguments will also be given.

Chapter Three examines the compatibility between verbs of existence and several syntactic operations. These possible operations include the locative inversion, locative alternation, location subject alternation, location instrument alternation, the benefactive and the locative.

Chapter Four is the conclusion where the summary of the main contents of the previous chapters is given.

OPSOMMING

Hiedie navorsing ondersoek die Predikaat Argument Struktuur van die werkwoorde van bestaan met spesiale verwysing na oorganklike en onoorganklike werkwoorde in Tshivenda.

Hoofstuk Een is die inleiding van hierdie navorsing. Dit gee die doel van die studie, die teoretiese raamwerk, organisasie van die studie, sowel as die predikaat argument struktuur van die werkwoorde van bestaan. Die leksikaal semantiese representasie (d.i. die theta-rolle) is gedefinieer. Die aannames van Chomsky se Government en Binding teorie is gegee. Die studie poog ook om die verskillende vorms van die werkwoord van bestaan te gee.

Hoofstuk Twee ondersoek die argumente van die werkwoorde van bestaan. Die eksterne argumente in onderwerp-posisie val saam met die kenmerke (+lewendig) d.i. (mense en diere) of (-lewendig). Die interpretasie van die voorbeeldsin is ook gegee.

Hoofstuk Drie ondersoek die alternasies van die werkwoorde van bestaan en verskeie sintaktiese operasies.

Hierdie operasies sluit in die lokatiewe inversie, -alternasie, -onderwerp alternasie, -instrument alternasie, die bevoordeelde en die lokatiewe.

Hoofstuk Vier is die konklusie waarin 'n samevatting van die vorige Hoofstukke gegee word.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Firstly I would like to express my gratitude to Prof. J.A. du Plessis who tirelessly guided me in the completion of this study project. Prof. M. Visser is also not forgotten for the shared knowledge of the Government and Binding Theory.

In the second place, I won't forget to mention my colleagues who encouraged me to further my studies. To particularize the few, i.e. Mr N_{emaguvhuni} D.R., Prof. R.N. Ma_{dadzhe}, Mr W.Silidi, Mr B.I. Ma_{anda}, Mr N.D. Mu_{thige}, Mrs M.R. N_{engudza} (N_{emakonde}), Mrs C.T. Nkhumeleni (Ratshi_{tanga}), Mr T.L. Ledwaba and Mr & Mrs M.A. Tsa_{nwani}.

My mother Tshavhungwe and my half brothers Mr A.N. Tshikalange and J.M Tshikalange are worth mentioned for their financial assistance in my education.

Last, but not least, I wish to thank my family who tolerated me while I missed them busy doing my research work. That is, my beloved wife "Takalani" Masindi Annah, my sons (Maluta, Shumani & L. Sedzani) and my daughters (Nnditsheni, Nnzumbeni & L. Konanani). To them I say "Zwo phethea".

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CHAPTER ONE

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 PURPOSE OF STUDY

The Predicate Argument Structure (PAS) of verbs of existence will be examined with special reference to transitive and intransitive verbs in Tshivenda. The compatibility between verbs of existence and syntactic operations, such as locative alternation, will be observed to determine whether these verbs can undergo certain syntactic alternations.

1.2 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK.

The general framework of this study will assume the Government and Binding (GB) theory as explicated by Chomsky (1981) as well as many other linguists, through the following Government and Binding subsystems:

1.2.1 Theta (Θ)-theory

According to Harrocks (1988:101) Θ -theory is concerned with the assignment of what Chomsky calls “thematic” roles to sentential constituents. By thematic roles Chomsky means what have been called semantic roles, roles such as agent, patient (or theme), beneficiary, etc. Theta theory is concerned

with organizing the semantic dependancies between lexical elements in a structure. Lexical elements (e.g. verbs) are associated with a number of thematic (theta/ Θ) roles which correspond to the number of arguments they select. Lexical heads directly theta-mark their complements and indirectly theta-mark their subject. Haegeman (1994:49) states that the component of the grammar that regulates the assignment of thematic roles is called theta theory.

1.2.2 X- bar theory

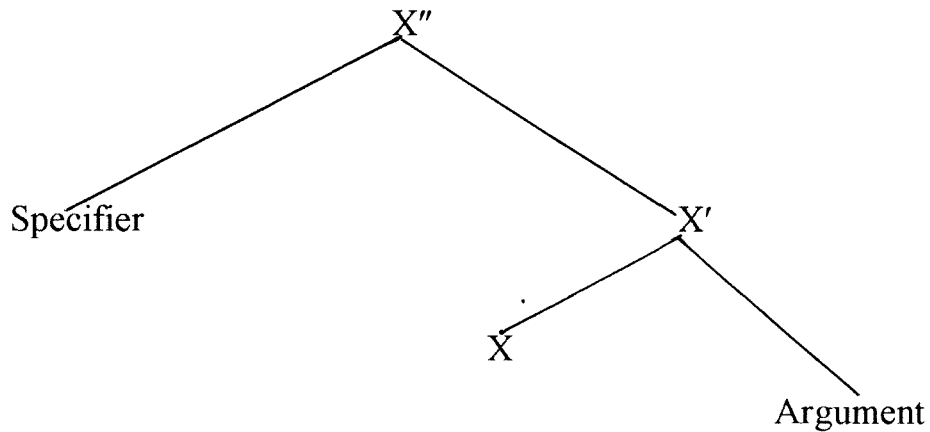
According to Sells (1985:27) X'- Theory was developed in the 1970's and plays an important role in GB. X-bar theory deals with the concept of a head. The head of an NP is the noun and of VP is V.

The principles of this theory restrict structural representations in terms of the following schemata:

- a. $X'' \rightarrow \text{Spec } X', X'$
- b. $X' \rightarrow X, \text{comp } X^\circ$

X- bar theory makes a distinction between lexical and non-lexical categories. The lexical categories include the Verb, the Noun, the Adjective and Preposition. Non-lexical categories include the functional categories such as AgrS, T, M, Neg, etc.

The highest level of projection is called the maximal projection – hence AP is the maximal projection of A .



X° level categories refer to constituents which immediately dominate actual lexical items in a tree diagram. We also find zero lexical categories that are functional categories. Two types of relations found in X-bar theory are: Dominance and linear precedence. X'' is the mother to X', specifier is the sister to X', while X° is the daughter to X. In brief this is what X-bar theory is all about.

1.2.3 Case theory

Horrocks (1988:102) states that case theory deals with the principles of case assignment to constituent. Chomsky assumes that all NPs with lexical content are assigned (abstract) case. The basic idea is that case is assigned under government, there is no case if there is no government. Case theory is

concerned with the assignment of abstract case to NPs. The Case Filter which is a requirement for well-formedness of Phonetic Form (PF) component requires that all NPs with phonetic content be assigned case, is stated as follows: $N(P)$, where $N(P)$ has phonetic content but no case.

1.2.4 Government theory.

Cook, V.J (1988:35) states that government theory is concerned with the relation between a head i.e. X^0 category and its complements. It refers to a particular syntactic relationship of high abstraction between a governor and an element that it governs. The list of governors includes the lexical categories Nouns, Verb, adjective and preposition-everything that can be the head of a phrase. A lexical head (i.e. N^0 , A^0 , V^0 , P^0) governs the categories for which it sub-categorises.

Government theory relates to the (sisterhood) relation between the lexical head of a phrase/projection and the categorises that it subcategorises. In X-bar terminology, a lexical head governs its complements (sisters) in the construction/phrase of which it is the head. The AgrS element (of INFL) governs the subject NP.

1.2.5 Control theory

According to Haegeman (1984:205) control theory is defined as the module of grammar which regulates the occurrence and interpretation of PRO. It is generally accepted that this theory is concerned with the assignment of an antecedent (controller) to the phonetically empty (EC) PRO which characteristically occurs as the subject in infinitival clauses. The rules of control that coindex PRO with its antecedent, if any, belong to the Logical Form component.

1.2.6 Binding theory

Haegeman (1994:240) defines binding theory as the module of the grammar which regulates the interpretation of NPs. This theory regulates the relation between anaphors, e.g. NP- trace, pronominals, for example, he, she, they, I, pro and R (eferential) expressions, e.g. chair, home, Wh (= question words) traces and their antecedents in terms of the notion of “binding”. The binding relation is indicated by co-subscripting. Binding is a theory of A-binding, i.e. the NPs that enter into a binding relation must occupy A-positions which include subject and complement of X, where X = N, V, P, Adj. Non-A (=A) positions include the position of Comp and the adjunct position.

1.2.7 Bounding theory.

Haegeman (1994:402) states that bounding theory defines the boundaries for movement and thus determines how far an element can be moved. Central to bounding or movement theory, is the transformational rule $\text{move } \alpha$ (where $\alpha = X^0$ or X_{max}). This principle applies freely to move any element to any position over any domain or distance but with constraints. Among these constraints is the Empty Category Principle (ECP) which requires that traces must be properly governed and no barriers should separate the moved element from its trace.

Another constraints is the Subjacency Condition which is a locality condition on movement. There are also other constraints such as the Structure Preserving Hypothesis through which only maximal projections can move to maximal projection (specifier) positions, while only head categories can move to head positions.

1.3 ORGANIZATION OF STUDY.

In the subsection below, a review of the predicate argument structure (PAS) will be made, i.e. in section 1.4. In sub-section 1.4.3 example sentences with regard to PAS in verbs of existence will be examined, in 1.4.5 a review of lexical

semantic representation will be made, i.e. theta-roles and a review of lexical features of nouns will be looked into.

- Chapter TWO of this study examines the arguments of verbs of existence. The external NP argument in subject position will be considered with the features (+animate) i.e. (human and animal) or (-animate). The interpretation of the example sentence of the arguments will also be given.

Chapter THREE examines the compatibility between verbs of existence and several syntactic operations. These possible operations include the locative inversion, locative alternation, location subject alternation, location instrument alternation, the benefactive and the locative.

Chapter FOUR is the conclusion where the summary of the main contents of the previous chapters is given:

1.4 PREDICATE ARGUMENT STRUCTURE

1.4.1 Lexical-syntactic and lexical-semantic representation.

A lexical-syntactic representation gives the theta-role (Θ -role) as the synonym of the argument. The lexical-syntactic representation reflects in other words only the predicate argument structure or PAS. This means that the semantic relation regarding the argument and predicate is not considered as the Θ -roles are taken as having no semantic content. With

the lexical-semantic representation the theta-roles have a semantic content. This type of lexical representation is also known as the lexical conceptual structure (LCS)

The predicate argument structure in the lexical-syntactic representation indicates a one place, two-place or three-place predicate.

1.4.2 Lexical-syntactic representation.

1.4.2.1 Predicate argument structure (PAS)

The predicate argument structure (PAS) of a verb indicates the number of arguments it has.

(i) One-Place predicate

In a one-place predicate the verb assigns one variable or argument to the NP subject position, for example.

- (1) a [Munna] o halifha
(The man is furious)

Morphological feature –halifh-

Categorical feature [+V, -N]

Subcategorical feature [-----#]

Theta grid Θ

(ii) Two –place predicate

In two place predicate the verb or predicate assigns two arguments, i.e. one argument is assigned to the NP subject position and the other argument is assigned to the NP object position, for example:

- (2) a. [Musidzana] u bika [vhuswa]
(The girl cooks porridge)

Morphological feature **-bik-**

Categorical feature [+V, -N]

Subcategorical feature [-----NP]

Theta grid $\Theta 1$ $\Theta 2$

(iii) Three – place predicate

In three – place predicate the verb assigns three arguments. One argument is assigned to the NP subject position and the other two arguments are assigned to the NP object positions.

- (3) a. [Khotsi] u fha [n'wana] [bola]
(The father gives the child the ball)

Morphological feature **-fh-**

Categorical feature [+V, -N]

Subcategorical feature [-----	NP	NP]
Theta grid	$\theta 1$	$\theta 2$ $\theta 3$

1.4.2.2 The external argument.

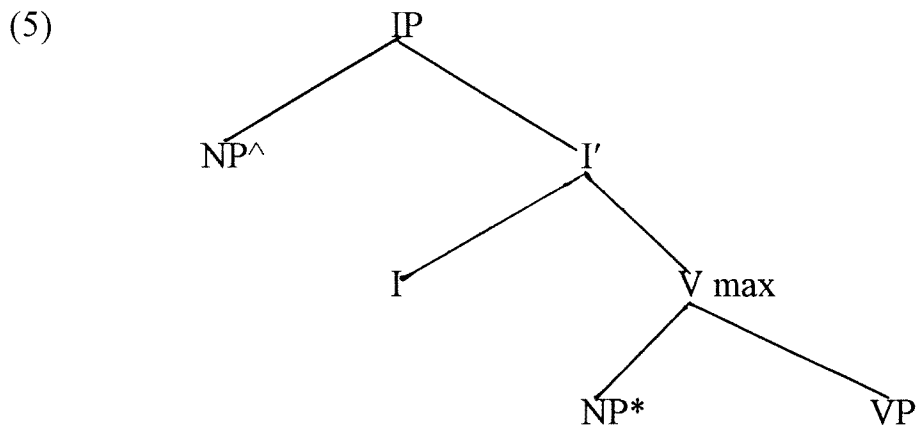
Rapport and Levin (1988) states that the three modes of theta-role assignment are, by a verb, a preposition and a VP via predication.

The external arguments are assigned through the predication theory, i.e. external arguments are then the NP arguments which are assigned theta-roles by the VP via predication. In order to be assigned a theta-role by the VP via predication, the argument must be outside the maximal projection of the VP. It is a requirement of the predication theory.

- (4) [Vhana] [vha-bika] [vhuswa]
 (The children cook porridge)
 Pas of **-bik-** : [X (Y)].

In the above example [X] or [vhana] is the external argument, as it is the variable that is outside the brackets in the predicate argument structure. Other features of the external arguments are that they must be in a relation of mutual C- command with the maximal projection of the verb and that they are usually found in subject positions of sentences.

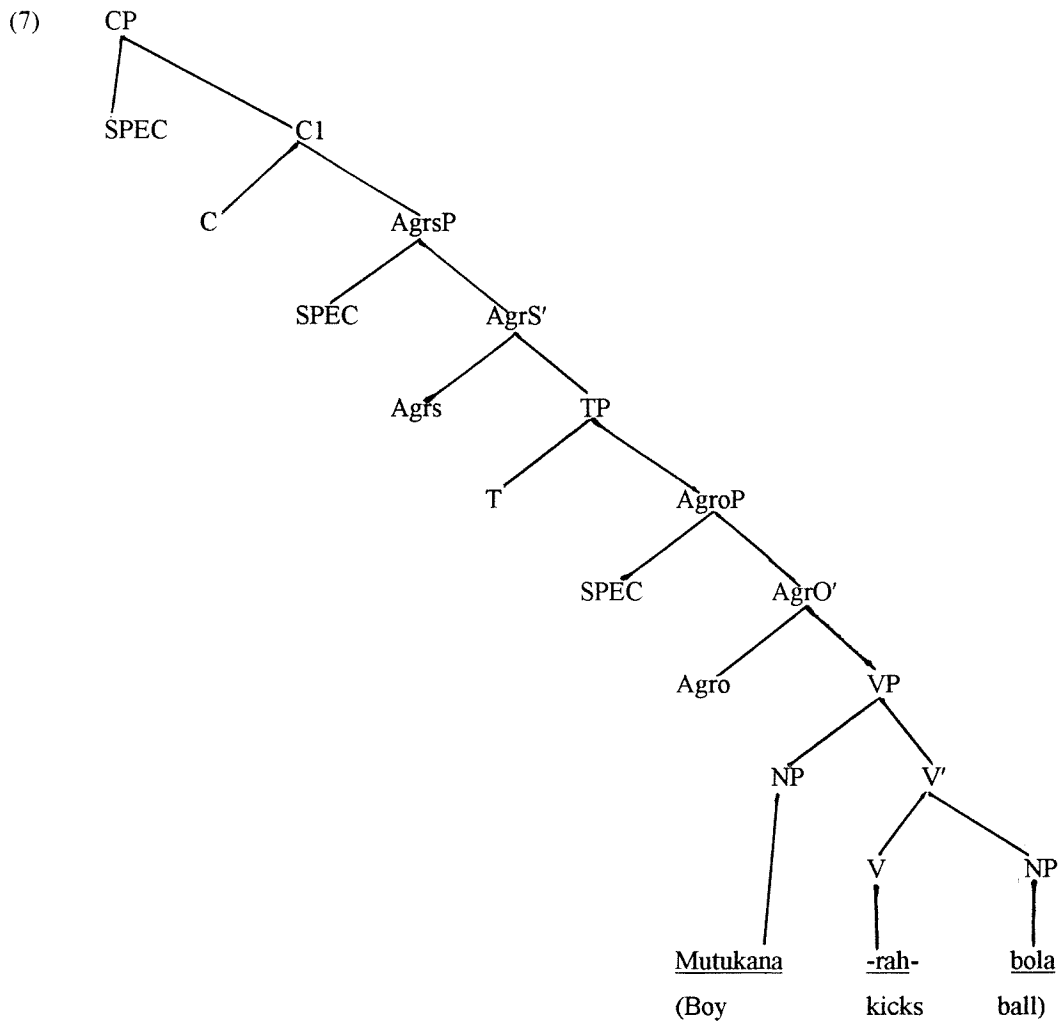
The question of dependencies in parts of sentences as a result of Inflection in the X-bar theory has resulted in the re-evaluation of the external argument. Koopman and Sportiche (1991) came out with the theory of the VP internal subject hypothesis where the D-structure of a phrase is as follows:



NP* is the D-structure position and NP^ the S-structure position. A subject generated in position NP* must move to position NP^. NP* is a sister of VP. If the external NP arguments were to be at NP^, it would receive no Θ -role as all the inflectional categories would be between NP and the maximal cancelling the sisterhood between this NP and the VP.

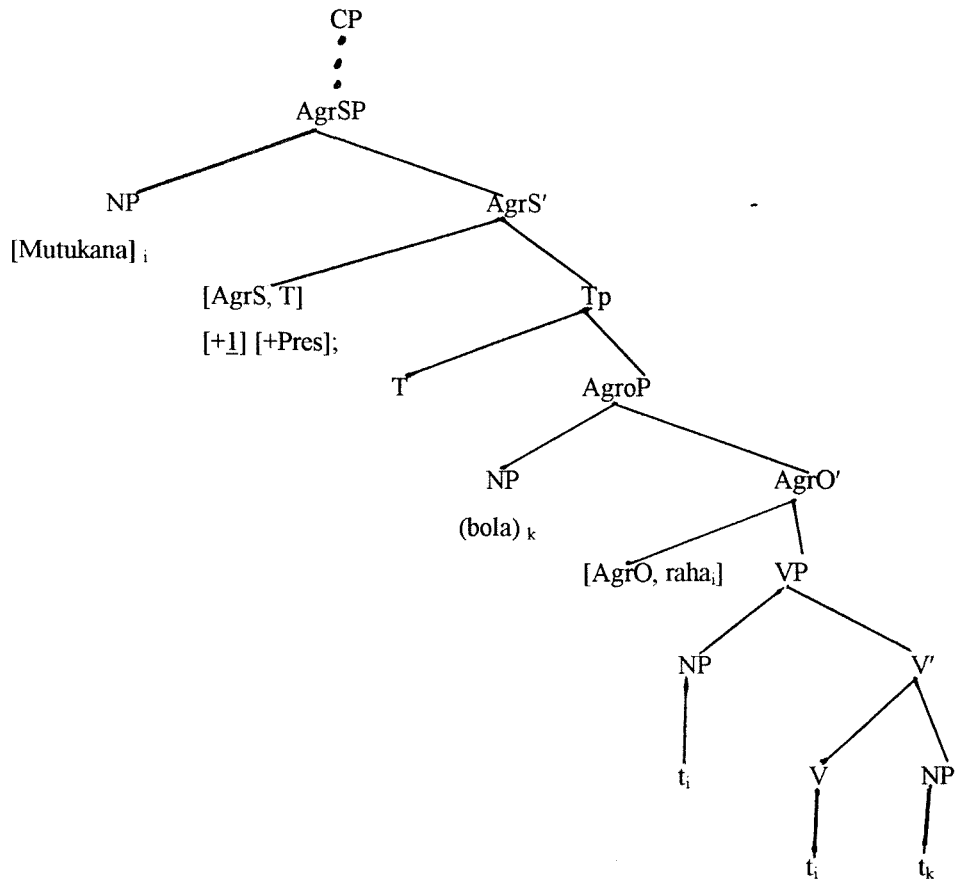
Chomsky (1992) redefined the VP internal subject hypothesis where the external NP then appears internally in the VP but its theta-role is still assigned by the VP, for example:

- (6) [Mutukana] u raha [bola]
(The boy kicks the ball)



In this case, the external argument, i.e. [mutukana] has been generated within VP. It now moves to the SPEC position close to AgrS. V and the internal argument [bola] as well as the inflectional categories move. It will leave the traces, just like in the following example:

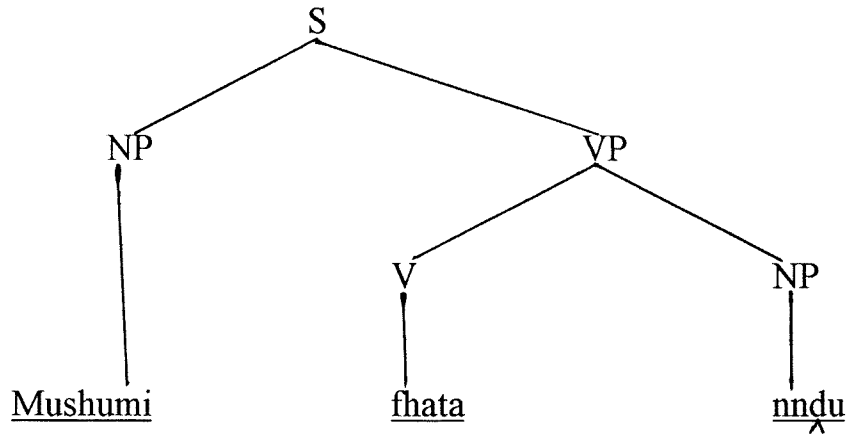
(8)



Williams (1994) states that the external argument is a sister of the maximal projection of the verb. This can be indicated in the following example structure;

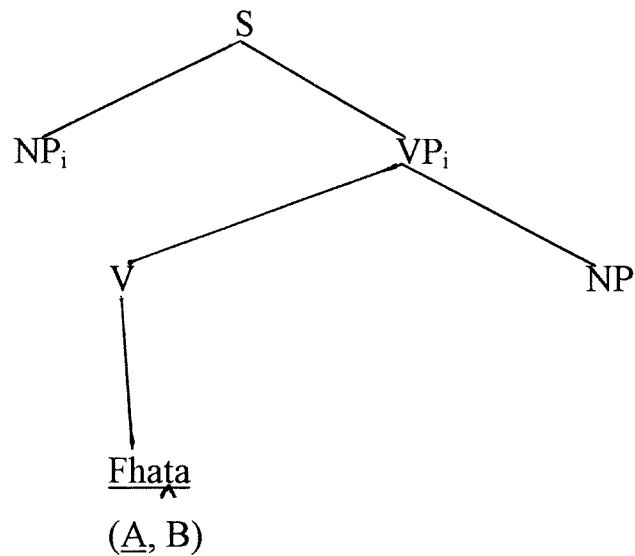
- (9) [Mushumi] u fha_Λ nndu_Λ
(The worker builds the house)

(10)



[Mushumi] is the subject argument and the sister of VP which is located externally to the maximal projection of VP. VP is a predicate and assigns an external role of the verb of which it is the head. In the next structure [fhata] assigns two Θ - roles, i.e. A and B where A is the external argument and B is internal.

(11)



The \underline{A} – argument is coindexed with VP, i.e. A_i and VP_i . The VP thus binds the \underline{A} – role of the head verb (fhata). The subject NP now bears the A- argument of (fhata) and creates a binding relation between the argument and the verb (A) and the external argument of the head of NP. Predication as an instance of Θ – role assignment states that Θ - role assignment between the VP and the subject takes place because the VP is a predicate.

An external argument may be omitted just like in example below:

- (12) [pro] u a fhufha
(He jumps).

In this example the place of this external argument will be taken by pro coindexed with the subject concord of the verb [u].

External arguments appear in all three verb types, that is intransitive, transitive and ditransitive verbs.

1.4.2.3 The internal argument

While external arguments must be outside the maximal projection of the verb, internal arguments will be internal to the maximal projection of the VP. These arguments are sisters of the verb or its complements of which the verb is

the head of the VP. Internal arguments are subcategorized
and are also theta-marked by the verb.

- (13) [Khovhe] i tala [damuni]
(The fish swims in the dam)
PAS of -tal-: [X- (Loc Y)]

The [X] or external argument, is assigned to [khovhe] and the
[y] internal argument is assigned to [damuni]

Marantz (1984) states that internal arguments can be divided
into direct and indirect arguments. Direct arguments are
assigned O- roles directly and indirect arguments are assigned
O- roles indirectly. Direct and indirect arguments are found
within the ditransitive verbs.

- (14) [Mudededzi] u gudisa [vhagudiswa] [bugu]
(The educator teaches the learners the book)

In (14) [Mudededzi] is the external argument while
[vhagudiswa] is the indirect argument and [bugu] the direct
argument. The internal argument which occur in object
positions are the direct arguments and the indirect arguments
are usually the objects of a pre-position.

The following example is the indication that an internal
argument may some time be omitted:

- (15) a. [Mutukana] u zwima [ɖakani]
(The boy hunts in the bush)
- b. [Mutukana] u a zwima
(The boy hunts)

In (15) b, above, the internal arguments has been left out.

1.4.3 VERBS OF EXISTENCE

1.4.3.1 EXIST VERBS

Predicate argument structure:

The predicate argument structure of the verb is such that an external argument is assigned to the NP in the subject position and an internal argument to the locative. Most exist verbs take two arguments.

- (16) [Mulindi] u linda [getheni]
(The security man watches at the gate)
PAS of **-lind-** [X (Loc Y)]

The [X] argument is assigned to [mulindi] and the [y] argument to [magetheni]

1.4.3.2 VERBS OF ENTITY-SPECIFIC MODES OF BEING.

In this case the verbs of entity-specific modes of being take one argument. In the predicate argument structure of these

verbs an external argument is assigned to the subject position, e.g.

- (17) [_XNama] i a sina
(The meat rots)

The [X] argument above is assigned to [_Xnama] and there is no location.

1.4.3.3 VERBS OF MODES OF BEING INVOLVING MOTION

These verbs assign two arguments, one in the external subject position and the other to the locative e.g.

- (18) [Fulaga] i fhefheda [_Xmuyani]
(The flag sways in the air)
PAS of **-fhefhed-** : [x (Loc Y)]

The [X] argument above is assigned to [fulaga] and [y] to [muyani].

1.4.3.4 VERBS OF SOUND EXISTENCE.

All verbs of sound existence assign two arguments. In the predicate argument structure of these verbs, the verb assigns an external argument to the NP in the subject position and an internal argument to the locative.

(19) [Goloi] i bvuma [badani]

(The car sounds on the road)

PAS of **_bvum-:** [X (Loc Y)]

The [X] argument is assigned to [goloi] and the [y] argument to [badani]

1.4.3.5 VERBS OF GROUP EXISTENCE

Verbs of group existence may either take two or three arguments.

(20) [Vhathu] vha -do- khunyelela [tshikoloni]

(People will gather at the school)

PAS of **-khunyelel-:** [X (Loc Y)].

The [X] argument is assigned to [vhathu] while the [y] argument is assigned to [tshikoloni]

Some verbs of group existence assign the **na** – phrase:

(21) [Mahosi] a-do- vhuthana [na vhalanda] [musanda]

(Chiefs will gather with their subjects at the chief's kraal)

PAS of **-vhuthan-:** [X (na – y) (Loc- Z)]

In (20) above, the [X] argument is assigned to [vhathu] while the [y] argument is assigned to [tshikoloni].

1.4.3.6 VERBS OF SPATIAL CONFIGURATION

All verbs of spatial configuration assign two arguments. The predicate argument structure of these verbs is such that an external argument is assigned to the NP subject position and an internal argument to the locative.

- (22) [Vhagidimi] vha fhufha [mudavhini]
(The athletes jump at the sports ground)
PAS of **-fhufh-**: [X (Loc Y)]

The [X] argument is assigned to [vhagidimi] and the [y] argument is assigned to [mudavhini]

1.4.3.7 MEANDER VERBS

The meander verbs assign two arguments, i.e. an external argument to the subject position and an internal argument to the **na** – phrase:

- (23) [Muimbi] u tendeleka [na shango]
(The singer roams around the country)
PAS of **-tendelek-**: [X (na Y)]

The [X] argument is assigned to [muimbi] and [y] argument is assigned to [na shango].

1.4.3.8 VERBS OF CONTIGUOUS LOCATION

The verbs of contiguous location assign two arguments, i.e. an external argument and the internal argument, e.g.

- (24) [Mubiki] o tiba [bodo]
(The cook closed the pot)

PAS of **-tib-**: [X (y)]

The [X] argument is assigned to [mubiki] and the [y] argument is assigned to [bodo].

1.4.4 SUMMARY

The group of verbs of entity-specific modes of being differs from the other verbs because it (verb) assigns one argument – it has an external argument only. Verbs of group existence have either two or three arguments. Verbs of contiguous location and meander verbs have two arguments in which the internal argument is not a location.

Exist verbs, verbs of sound existence, verbs of spatial configuration and verbs of modes of being involving motion take two arguments, that is, the external and internal locative argument.

1.4.5 LEXICAL-SEMANTIC REPRESENTATION (Theta-roles)

According to Ramovha (1996:10) linguists agree on the importance of thematic structures for certain syntactic processes, the theory of thematic roles is still very sketchy. As yet there is no agreement on how many such specific thematic roles there are and what their labels are.

Sells (1995:36) states that each Θ - role is assigned by a head within its domain with the exception of the underlined argument, if there is one. This is known as the external argument; the others are internal arguments. The assignment is known as direct assignment; the external Θ - role is indirectly assigned, the process mediated by VP. Theta-roles are assigned in the lexicon and projected to d- structure e.g.

- (25) [Munna] u rema [muri]
(The man chops the tree)

In sentence (24) above [munna] is the external argument where as [muri] is the internal argument.

An argument is an expression that bears a thematic/theta role. A non-argument is a nominal which bears no theta-role, i.e. Existential pro associated with the impersonal subjectival concord Zwi, e.g.

- (26) Zwi a lea
(They are edible)

The following constitute some of the commonly assumed theta-role where for each role an informed definition is provided as well as illustrative examples:

AGENT

This is the one who intentionally initiates the action expressed by the predicate. It is characterized by volition.

- (27) [Munna] u rwa ñwana.
(The man beats the child)

In the above sentence [munna] is the initiator or doer of action of beating. This argument is assigned the theta-role of agent as expressed by the verb.

PATIENT

Patient is the person or thing undergoing the action expressed by the predicate. Cowper (1992) states that patient is an entity that undergoes action and is affected by the action expressed by the predicate.

- (28) Maṭodzi o rwa [ńwana]
(Maṭodzi beat the child)

In the sentence (28) above [ńwana] is assigned the theta-role of patient.

THEME

Theme refers to a thing or entity moved by the action expressed by the predicate. Cowper (1992) associates the role of theme with verbs of motion and location which can either be concrete or abstract.

- (29) (a) Mutukana u raha [bola]
(The boy kicks the ball)
(b) [Muri] wo wa
(The tree fell)

In the above sentences [bola] and [muri] are assigned the O-role of theme.

EXPERIENCER

Experiencer is the entity that experiences some psychological state expressed by the predicate.

- (30) [Maluṭa] o sinyuwa
(Maluṭa is angry)

In (30) [Malu_Λta] is in a mental state of sadness as expressed by the predicate and is assigned a theta-role of experiencer.

RECIPIENT

Recipient is the entity (person or thing) which receives something as results of action expressed by the predicate, e.g.

- (31) Khotsi u nea [n_Λwana] malegere.
(The father gives the child the sweets)

In (31) [n_Λwana] is assigned the Θ- role of recipient.

BENEFACTIVE

It is the entity that benefits from the action expressed by the predicate.

- (32) Khotsi u rengela [v_Λhana] zwiambaro.
(Father buys clothes for the child)

In example sentence (32) above [v_Λhana] has the role of benefactive as it gains or benefits from the action expressed by the predicate.

GOAL.

It is entity towards which the activity expressed by the predicate is directed, e.g.

- (33) Bola i kungulutshela [mapalani]
(The ball rolls towards the poles)

In (33) above [mapalani] is assigned the O- role of goal.

SOURCE.

Source is an entity from which something is moved as a result of the activity expressed by the predicate. The motion may be concrete or abstract (Haegeman, 1992).

- (34) λ Notshi dzi bva [λ thangoni]
(The bees come from the beehive)

[λ Thangoni] in the sentence above is assigned the theta-role of source.

LOCATION

Location is the place in which the action or state expressed by the predicate is situated.

- (35) Khaukanani u dzula [Fondwe]
(Khaukanani stays at Fondwe)

In the sentence above, [Fondwe] is assigned a theta-role of location.

PURPOSE

An argument which constitutes the reason or purpose of the performance of the action, especially with the applicative verb (Motsei, 1993).

- (36) Mutukana u shumela [tshelede]
(The boy works for the money)

In the sentence (36) above [tshelede] is assigned the theta – role of purpose.

PERCEPT.

Percept is the entity (person or thing) which is perceived through the action expressed by the predicate. It is expressed by the object argument of the verb such as **vhona**, **pfa**, **tshusa**, **ofha**, **thetshelesa**, etc.

- (37) (a) Mukegulu u ofha [vhuloi]
(The old woman fears witchcraft)

- (b) [Mudzinginyo] wo tshusa vhathu
(The earthquake frightened the people)

In example sentence (37)(a) and (b) above [vhuloi] and [mudzinginyo] are assigned the Θ - role of Percept.

INSTRUMENT.

This is the entity or thing used in a given action. The thematic role instrument is characterized by [nga] which precedes the argument which is the instrument.

- (38) Ri rema muri nga [mbaḽo]
(We chop the tree by axe)

[Mbaḽo] in this sentence is assigned the Θ - role of Instrument.

MALEFACTIVE

Malefactive is described as an argument characterized by the meaning of being “to the detriment of”. Malefactive is a subtype of the benefactive thematic relation and occurs with verbs denoting that the action is taking place to the disadvantage of somebody or something.

- (39) [Musadzi] o fhiselwa nnḽu.
(The woman had her house burnt)

In this case [musadzi] is assigned the Θ - role of Malefactive. In (39) above [musadzi] will suffer the action expressed by the predicate.

CAUSE

Cause is an entity that causes the action or activity denoted by the verb as shown in the following example sentence:

- (40) [Vhubva] vhu vhulaisa lushaka
(Laziness causes the nation to die)

In the sentence above [vhubva] is assigned the O – role of causative.

DIRECTION

According to N_{ekhumbe} (1995) direction is an argument characterizing a course taken by a moving entity.

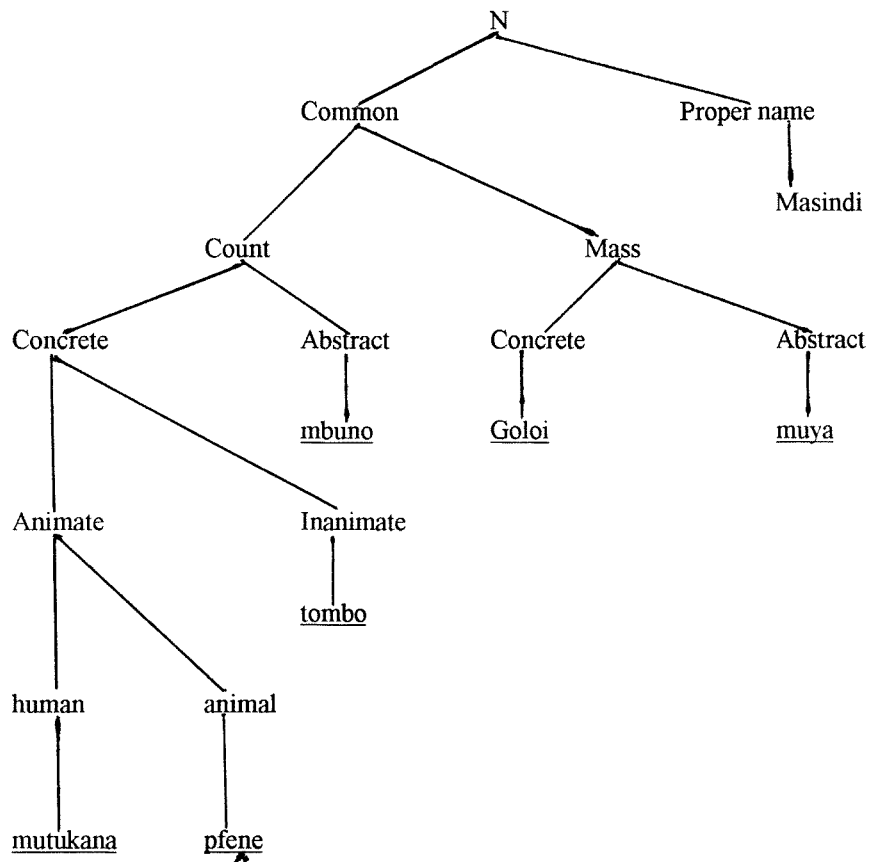
- (41) Muzwimi u gidimela [d_{akani}]
(The hunter runs towards the bush)

In the example sentence (40) above, [d_{akani}] is assigned the theta-role of direction.

1.4.6 LEXICAL FEATURES OF NOUNS

There are several features of the noun as indicated in the diagram below:

(42)



CHAPTER TWO

2. INTERPRETATION OF THE ARGUMENTS OF VERBS OF EXISTENCE.

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This section aims to examine the interpretation of the arguments of the verbs of existence. The NP which is the external argument in subject positions will be considered with the features [+Animate] i.e. ([+human] and [+animal] and [-Animate]). Some verbs have an object argument which will be interpreted. Locative argument is found in all verbs and these locative arguments will be interpreted.

2.2 EXIST VERBS

These verbs relate to the existence of an entity at some location. They all appear with a locative phrase as an internal argument.

2.2.1 Aim

In this subsection the aim is to interpret the predicate argument structure of exist verbs with the PAS of [X (Loc Y)].

The external argument [X] given above will be [+human], [+animal] and [-Animate]. A table will be drawn to establish

arguments which are allowed, and further-more the groups of arguments will be interpreted.

2.2.2 A list of the exist verbs.

dzula

- (1)a. [+Animate]: [Musadzi] u dzula [mukhukhuni]
(The woman lives in a shack)
:[N_χowa] i dzula [mulindini]
(The snake lives in the hole)
- b. [-Animate]: *[Nn_χdu] i dzula [thavhani]
(The house lives on the mountain)

khuda

- (2)a. [+Animate]: [Munna] u khuda [kerekeni]
(The man hides in the church)
:[Kholomo] i khuda [tshi_χtakani]
(The cow hides in the bush)
- b. [-Animate]: *[Labi] lo khuda [kilasini]
(The rag was hidden in the classroom)

dzumbama

- 3.a. [+Animate]: [Mbava] i dzumbama [n_χduni]
(The thief hides in the house)

: [Mbudzi] i dzumbama [tshitumbani]

(The goat hides in the kraal)

b. [-Animate]: *[Tombo] li dzumbama [mutavhani]

(The rock hides in the sand)

tshila

(4)a [+Animate]: [Vharwa] vha tshila [sogani]

(The Bushmen live in the desert)

: [Mbila] dzi tshila [mabakoni]

(Rock-rabbits live in rock cases)

b. [-Animate]: *[Matombo] a tshila [tshikwarani]

(Rocks live on the hill)

lala

(5)a [+Animate]: [Mutukana] o lala [mmbeteni]

(The boy slept on the bed)

: [Zwiṇoni] zwi lala [zwiṭahani]

(The birds sleep in the nests)

b. [-Animate]: *[Nwando] u lala [mahatsini]

(Dew stays on the grass)

lenga

(6)a [+Animate]: [Mutshudeni] u lenga [tshikoloni]

(The student delays at school)

: [Kholomo] dzo lenga [dipeni]

(The cattle delayed at the dip)

b. [-Animate]: *[Vhurifhi] ho lenga [poswoni]

(The letter was delayed at the post office)

sala

(7).a [+Animate]: [Nwana] u sala [hayani]

(The child remains at home)

: [Namana] yo sala [hayani]

b. [-Animate]: [Faela] yo sala [ofisini]

(The file remained in the office)

ima

(8).a [+Animate]: [Mufha_χi] u ima [tha_χgani]

(The builder stands on the roof)

: [Phukha] dzi ima [da_χkani]

(The animals stand in the bush)

b. [-Animate]: *[Tshidimela] tshi ima [tshi_χtitshini]

(The train stops at the station)

linda

(9).a [+Animate]: [Mulindi] u linda [getheni]

(The security man watches at the gate)

: [Mmbwa] i linda [mu_χdini]

(The dog watches at home)

b. [-Animate]: *[Bambiri] _{li} linda [nduni]

(The paper watches in the house)

TABLE I

Exist verbs	+ Animate		- Animate
	+ Human	+ Animal	
dzula	+	+	-
khuda	+	+	-
dzumbama	+	+	-
tshila	+	+	-
lala	+	+	-
lenga	+	+	-
sala	+	+	-
ima	+	+	-
linda	+	+	-

2.2.3 INTERPRETATION OF THE ARGUMENTS

2.2.3.1 EXTERNAL ARGUMENTS

(i) [+Animate] NPs

The feature [+Animate] i.e. (+humans and + animals) is assigned in all exist verbs. The subject argument of these exist verbs can be agent or theme, i.e. the external arguments. Agent

is the one who intentionally initiates the action expressed by the predicate. It is characterized by volitation.

Theme refers to the person or thing moved by the action expressed by the predicate.

- (11) [Musadzi] u dzula [mukhukhuni]
(The woman lives in a shack)

- (12) [Nowa] i dzula [mulindini]
(The snake lives in the hole)

In the example of sentences (11) and (12) above, [X] or [musadzi] and [_Xnowa] are the agents as they are the initiators or doers of the action expressed by the predicate in the case of [-dzul-]. A theta-role of theme may also be assigned to [musadzi] and [_Xnowa] as they are the entity moved by the predicate [-dzul-] which is the verb of location.

The verb **dzula** cannot appear with inanimate subjects because its meaning is associated with a living entity which can control itself by taking decisions – hence [-dzul-] (to sit down) is done by human or animal beings that can either decide to stay somewhere or walk.

The exist verbs such as **khuda**, **dzumbama**, **tshila**, **lala**, **sala**, **ima**, and **linda** can only appear with animate subjects. For

example, verb like **tshila** can appear with animate subjects because its meaning presupposes something which must live and breathe like humans or animals. The verb **dzumbama** (to hide) also presupposes something (human or animal) which do have an intention of hiding away from a thing so that it must not be seen.

All other exist verbs mentioned above including **dzula**, **dzumbama**, and **tshila** are associated with animate subjects.

(ii) [-Animate] NPs

The argument with the feature [-Animate] is not found in the exist verbs, e.g

(13) *[Vhurifhi] ho lenga [poswoni]
(The letter delayed at the post office)

(14) *[Faela] yo sala [ofisini]
(The file remained in the office)

The inanimate things, such as [vhurifhi] and [faela] in example sentences (13) and (14) respectively cannot express any action by themselves. The verbs **lenga** and **sala** cannot appear with inanimate subjects because [vhurifhi] and [faela] do not have the intention of delaying or remaining behind. It is a person who took time to check at the post box or who has just left the

file in the office, as a result the letter [vhurifhi] can be seen as delayed.

2.2.3.2 **Internal argument.**

The internal argument is a locative argument. The locative argument in exist verbs indicates location.

Locative argument can appear with all the exist verbs as indicated in the following example sentences:

- (15) [Mmbwa] i linda [muḡini]
 (The dog watches at home)
 PAS [X (Loc. Y)]

In the example sentence (15) [Y] or [mudini] has a reading of location and refers to the place where the dog [mmbwa] or [X] is watching or situated as expressed by the verb [-lind-].

Location, in Tshivenda, is usually marked by the locative suffix [-ni]. Locative arguments are assigned the theta-role of location by the verbs.

2.3 VERBS OF ENTITY – SPECIFIC MODES OF BEING

These verbs describe a state of existence that is typical of certain entities. As a result, some of them occur with a limited set of subjects.

2.3.1 Aim.

The main aim of this section is to interpret the predicate argument structure (PAS) verbs of entity – specific modes of being, with PAS [X]. This means that the PAS of these verbs is only [X].

Firstly, the external argument, i.e. [X] will be interpreted.

Verbs such as **vhudzula**, **duga**, **swa**, **nyenga**, **sina**, **vuva**, **rosa**, **elela**, **shuluwa**, **mela**, **fhufhuma**, **simuwa**, **hula**, **aluwa**, **puta**, **oma**, **rafhuwa**, **xa**, **kegula**, and **kalaha**, will be analysed in the sentences to follow.

Several sentences will be constructed with the external arguments [+human], [+animal] and [-animate]. Thereafter, a table of the verbs will be drawn and the interpretation of the arguments be given. The reasons why certain sentences are wrong will be substantiated.

2.3.2 List of the verbs in sentences.

Vhudzula

(16)a [+Animate]: *[Nwana] u a vhudzula.

(The child blows)

:[Tshinoni] tshi a vhudzula

(The bird blows)

- b. [-Animate] : [Tshidumbumukwe] tshi a vhudzula
(The whirlwind blows)

duga

- (17)a. [+Animate]: *[Mutukana] o duga
(The boy burnt)
*[Khuhu] yo duga
(The hen burnt)
- b. [-Animate]: [Mulilo] wo duga
(The fire burnt)

swa

- (18)a. [+Animate]: [Mutukana] u a swa.
(The boy burns)
:[Phukha] dzi a swa.
(The animals burn)
- b. [-Animate]: [Labi] li a swa.
(The rag burns)

nyenga

- (19)a. [+Animate]: [Mu kegulu] o nyenga.
(The old woman flamed)
:[Mmbwa] yo nyenga.
(The dog flamed)
- b. [-Animate] : [Tshikuni] tshi a nyenga
(The wood flames)

sina

(20)a. [+Animate]: *[Musidzana] u a sina.

(The girl rots)

*[Nḁou] i a sina.

(The lion rots)

b. [-Animate]: [Nḁama] i a sina.

(The meat rots)

vuva

(21)a. [+Animate]: *[Mme] vho vuva

(The mother decayed)

:[Kholomo] yo vuva.

(The cow decayed)

b. [-Animate]: [Nḁama] yo vuva

(The meat decayed)

rosa

(22)a. [+Animate]: *[Mutshudeni] u a rosa

(The student rusts)

*[Nḁou] i a rosa.

(The elephant rusts)

b. [-Animate]: [Pani] i a rosa.

(The pan rusts)

shuluwa

(23)a. [+Animate]: *[Vhathu] vha a shuluwa.

(The people cascade)

*[Zwifuwo] zwi a shuluwa.

(The livestock cascade)

- b. [-Animate]: [Maḍi] a a shuluwa.
(Water cascade)

mela

- (24)a. [+Animate]: *[Kholomo] yo mela
(The cow grew)
*[Musidzana] o mela
(The girl grew)
- b. [-Animate]: [Muri] wo mela
(The tree grew)

fhufhuma

- (25)a. [+Animate]: *[Phele] i a fhufhuma
(The hyena blossoms)
*[Musadzi] u a fhufhuma
(The woman blossoms)
- b. [-Animate]: [Maluvha] a a fhufhuma
(The flowers blossom)

simuwa

- (26)a. [+Animate]: *[Nwana] o simuwa.
(The child sprouted)
*[Kholomo] yo simuwa
(The cow grew)
- b. [-Animate] : [Muroho] wo simuwa
(The relish sprouted)

hula

- (27)a. [+Animate]: [Nwana] u a hula
(The baby grows)
:[Phukha] i a hula
(The animal grows)
- b. [-Animate] : [Khavhishi] i a hula
(The cabbage grows)

aluwa

- (28)a. [+Animate] : [Tshinamana] tsho aluwa.
(The calf grew)
[Nwana] o aluwa
(The baby grew)
- b. [-Animate] : [Muri] wo aluwa
(The tree grew)

puta

- (29)a. [+Animate]: *[Kholomo] dzi a puta
(The cows wilt)
*[Mukegulu] u a puta
(The old woman wilt)
- b. [-Animate] : [Maluvha] a a puta
(The flowers wilt)

oma

- (30)a. [+Animate] : *[Munna] o oma.

(The man dried up)

*[N_λowa] yo oma

(The snake dried up)

b. [-Animate] : [Danda] l_λo oma

(The log dried up)

rafhuwa

(31)a. [+Animate]: *[Mbongola] yo rafhuwa.

(The donkey dried up)

*[Musadzi] u a rafhuwa.

(The woman dries up)

b. [-Animate] : [Matoko] a a rafhuwa

(Dung dries up)

xa

(32)a. [+Animate]: *[N_λdou] yo xa.

(The elephant dried up)

*[Mutukana] o xa

(The boy dried up)

b. [-Animate]: [Tshisima] tsho xa.

(The well dried up)

kegula

(33)a. [+Animate]: [Musadzi] u a kegula.

(The woman ages)

:[Kholomo] i a kegula

(The cow ages)

- b. [-Animate]: *[Muswiri] u a kegula
(The orange tree ages)

kalaha

- (34)a. [+Animate]: [Munna] u a kalaha
(The man ages)
:[Phukha] i a kalaha
(The animal ages)
- b. [-Animate]: *[Daraṭa] i a kalaha
(The wire ages)

35. TABLE II

VERBS	+Animate	-Animate
vhudzula	-	+
duga	-	+
swa	+	+
nyenga	+	+
sina	-	+
vuva	-	+
rosa	-	+
shuluwa	-	+
mela	-	+
fhufhuma	-	+
simuwa	-	+
hula	+	+
aluwa	+	+
puta	-	+
oma	-	+
rafhuwa	-	+
xa	-	+
kegula	+	-
kalaha	+	-

2.3.3 THE INTERPRETATION OF THE ARGUMENTS

2.3.3.1 Animate external arguments

Verbs of entity-specific modes of being have only external argument. Most of the verbs assign an argument with an [-animate] feature. There are very few verbs which assign an argument with [+animate] feature, for example:

- (36) [Phukha] dzi a swa.
 (The animals burn)
 PAS : [X]

In the above sentence example, [X] or [phukha] will be assigned a theta-role of patient as they [phukha] are the entities affected by the action expressed by the predicate [-sw-]. A verb such as **swa** can also appear with animate subjects because it is associated with something which can undergo the process of being burnt. If the bush is under fire, the animals in that environment can also be burnt – hence [phukha] (animals) are burnt.

Verbs of the entity – specific modes of being which do appear with animate subjects are **nyenga**, **hula**, **aluwa**, **kegula**, and **kalaha**.

This can also be indicated in the following sentence examples:

- (37) [Nwana] u a hula
 (The baby grows)
 PAS : [X]

In the above sentence example (37) the theta-role of patient can be assigned to [nwana] as the entity affected by the action expressed by the verb [-hul-]. The verb **hula** can also appear with animate subjects because it deals with a state or condition of being. The child [nwana] can undergo various stages:

of being. The child [n̥wana] can undergo various stages: firstly being a baby, then a child and grows up to be known as a young man. This process of growing (becoming big), it is said [nwana] (the baby) **u a hula** (grows).

(38) [Musadz] u a kegula.

(The woman ages)

PAS: [X]

A theta-role of patient is assigned to [musadzi] in the example sentence (38) above. The theta-role of patient is assigned to [musadzi] as the entity affected by the action expressed by the verb [-kegul-]. The verb [-kegul-] is associated with feminine gender, it indicates that the (woman) [musadzi] is becoming of age. The verb [-kalah-] is the opposite of the verb [-kegul-], [-kalah-] refers to the male who is becoming of age.

Most verbs of entity – specific modes of being such as **vhudzula, sina, shuluwa, puta**, etc. do not appear with [+animate] feature.

2.3.3.2 Inanimate external arguments.

From the table above, i.e. example (35) (TABLE II) it is clear that most of the verbs of entity-specific modes of being assign an argument with a [-animate] feature. These verbs assign the theta- role of patient to the external arguments.

Several verbs of entity – specific modes of being are not allowed to appear with certain NPs, especially animate NPs. They mostly do appear with inanimate subjects. This will be demonstrated in the following example sentences:

(i) **Vhudzula** verb

The verb **vhudzula** does not appear with [+animate] NPs (refer to TABLE II) above. The act of blowing is associated with natural forces such as whirlwind.

- (39) [Tshidumbumukwe] tshi a vhudzula
(The whirlwind blows)
PAS: [X]

The action of blowing is done by natural thing (inanimate), neither humans nor animals blow.

(ii) **duga** verbs

The verbs **swa** and **nyenga** (burnt) in Tshivenda are allowed to appear with [+animate] and [-animate] external NPs since they refer to the burning of materials and immaterials, e.g

- (40)a. [Mutukana] o nyenga
(The boy has flamed)

(The boy has flamed)

b. [Mmbwa] yo nyenga

(The dog has flamed)

c. [Tshikuni] tsho nyenga

(The wood has flamed)

In this verbs of entity – specific modes of being the external argument is always interpreted as patient.

(iii) **sina** verbs

Verbs **vuva** and **rosa** are not allowed to appear with [+human] and [+animate] external NPs. The verb **vuva** refers to the meat which rot, and **rosa** refers to the metal object that can rust. Humans and animals are not subjected to this condition of decaying and rusting – hence [pani] (pan) **i a rosa** (rusts).

(iv) **shuluwa** verb

In this group, the verb **shuluwa** is allowed to appear with [-animate] external feature NPs. The **shuluwa** verb refers to liquid things. Humans and animals do not undergo the process of flowing. Inanimates, such as water, does undergo the process of flowing or cascading.

(v) **fhufhuma** and **simuwa** verbs

In this group, **fhufhuma** and **simuwa** are not allowed to appear with [+human] and [+animal] external NPs. The verb **simuwa** refers to the process of things like budding from the branch of trees or sprouting from the soil. Humans and animals do not bud or sprout. But the verbs **aluwa** and **hula** which are similar to **fhufhuma** and **simuwa**, are allowed to appear with [+human], [+animal] and [-animates] external NPs. These verbs refer to the process of growing which include humans, animals and inanimates (see (37) above).

(vi) **puta**

In this group, **puta** and **oma** are not allowed to appear with [+animate] but with [-animate] external NPs only. The verb **puta** refers to the wilting which is caused by weather, and the verb **oma** also refers to dryness of things which can also be caused by the sun. Animate features, unlike inanimates, do not undergo the process of wilting see (29) above.

2.4 VERBS OF MODES OF BEING INVOLVING MOTION

These verbs describe states of existence of inanimate entities that involve types of motion typical of these entities, i.e. the type of motion is typical of these entities.

2.4.1 Aim

This section will interpret the predicate argument structure (PAS) of verbs of being involving motion, that is PAS: [X (Loc Y)].

[X] which is the external argument will be interpreted. Most of these verbs take a locative argument. Verbs to be treated in this section will be arranged into three groups, i.e. group 1 which consists of **fhefheda**, **reremela** and **dzinginyea**; group 2 consists of **tetemela** and **babamela** and group 3 consists of **papamela**, **tengama**, **mbwandamela**, **nupela**, **phinyela** and **suvhela**.

Sentences, where the external argument will have the feature [+animate] or [-animate] will be presented. At the end, a table will be drawn up to establish the arguments which are allowed and the interpretation of arguments will be given.

2.4.2 List of the verbs in sentences.

Group 1

fhefheda

- (41)a. [+Animate] : *[Nwana] u fhefheda [muyani]
(The child sways in the air)

*[Tshiṇoni] tshi fhefheḁa [muyani]

(The bird sways in the air)

b. [-Animate] : [Fulaga] i fhefheḁa [muyani]

(The flag sways in the air)

reremela

(42)a. [+Animate]: *[Mutukana] u reremela [phephoni]

(The boy trembled in the cold)

:[*Mbudzi] i reremela [dipeni]

(The goat trembled in the cold)

b. [-Animate] : [Luṭanga] lu reremela [maḁini]

(The reed trembles in the water)

dzinginyea

(43)a. [+Animate]: *[Makhulu] vho dzinginyea [tshiṭangani]

(Granny trembled in the kitchen)

*[Kholomo] i dzinginyea [dangani]

(The cow trembled in the kraal)

b. [-Animate]: [Muri] u dzinginyea [muyani]

(The tree trembles in the air)

Group 2

tetemela

(44)a. [+Animate] : [Ñwana] u tetemela [phephoni]

(The child shivers in the cold)

: [Mmbwa] i tetemela [ṇwāṿhoni]

(The dog shivers in the kennel)

b. [-Animate]: *[Bambiri] ḷi babamela [muyani]

(The paper flutters in the air)

babamela

(45)a. [+Animate]: [Mutukana] u babamela [mafhungoni]

(The boy involves himself in the news)

: [Khuhu] i babamela [tsḥiṭangani]

(The hen flutters in the kitchen)

(b) [-Animate]: *[Bambiri] ḷi babamela [muyani]

(The paper flutters in the air)

Group 3.

Papamala

46.a [+Animate]: [Musidzana] u papamala [tivhani]

(The girl floats in the pool)

: [Ḍula] ḷi papamala [maḍ̣ini]

(The frog floats in the water)

b. [-Animate]: [Ṭari] ḷi papamala [maḍ̣ini]

(The leaf floats in the water)

tengama

- (47)a. [+Animate] : [Nwana] o tengama [maḏini]
(The child floated in the water)
:[Mmbwa] yo tengama [damuni]
(The dog floated in the dam)
- b. [-Animate]: [Maṭari] o tengama [maḏini]
(The leaves floated in the water)

mbwandamela

- (48)a. [+Animate]: [Mufunzi] o mbwandamela [tivhani]
(The pastor submerged in the pool)
:[Nguluvhe] yo mbwandamela [damuni]
(The pig submerged in the dam)
- b. [-Animate]: [Tshisibe] tsho mbwandamela [maḏini]
(The soap submerged in the water)

nupela

- (49)a. [+Animate]: [Nwana] o nupela [tivhani]
(The baby submerged in the pool)
:[Mbudzi] dzo nupela [tivhani]
(Goats submerged in the pool)
- b. [-Animate] : [Tshikepe] tsho nupela [lwanzheni]
(The boat submerged in the sea)

phinyela

- (50)a. [+Animate]: [Mutukana] o phinyela [tshitakani]
 (The boy disappeared in the bush)
 :[Nḡdou] yo phinyela [ḡakani]
 (The elephant disappeared in the bush)
- b. [-Animate] : [Bufho] lo phinyela [makoleni]
 (The aeroplane disappeared in the clouds)

suvhela

- (51)a. [+Animate]: [Munna] o suvhela [nduni]
 (The man disappeared in the house)
 :[Nḡowa] yo suvhela [mulindini]
 (The snake crept into the hole)
- b. [-Animate] : [Tshisibe] tsho suvhela [maḡdini]
 (The soap glided into the water)

(52) TABLE III

GROUP	VERBS	ANIMATE	INANIMATE
1	fhefheda	-	+
	reremela	-	+
	dzinginyea	-	+
2	tetemela	+	-
	babamela	+	-
3	papamala	+	+
	tengama	+	+
	mbwandamela	+	+
	nupela	+	+
	phinyela	+	+
	suvhela	+	+

2.4.3 THE INTERPRETATION OF THE ARGUMENTS.

2.4.3.1 **Animate external arguments:**

The verbs of the modes of being involving motion assign an argument with an [+animate] or [-animate] feature. These verbs assign a theta- role of theme to their external arguments. The external argument is theme and the locative argument is location. The interpretation will be given according to the way the verbs are grouped; for example: (Group 1).

(53)a. [Fulaga] i fhefheda [muyani]

(The flag sways in the air)

b. [Muri] u dzinginyea [muyani]

(The tree trembles in the air)

In this group 1, from sentences example (53) above, [X] or external argument is inanimate. This means that there is no animate external argument to appear with the verbs such as **fhefheda**, **reremela** and **dzinginyea**.

Group 2

Some of the verbs of the modes of being involving motion indicate body – internal movement. These verbs assign the theta – role of patient. The external argument is animate, for example:

- (54)a. [Nwana] u tetemela [phephoni]
(The child shivers in the cold)
- b. [Khuhu] i babamela [tshitangani]
(The hen flutters in the kitchen)

The verb [-tetemel-] is associated with sense of feeling that can be caused by the weather such as coldness. This affects living things such as human and animal beings.

Group 3

Some of the verbs of modes of being involving motion have two features. The external argument is animate or inanimate.

- (55)a. [Nwana] u tengama [maḡini]
(The baby floats in the water)
- b. [Mbudzi] dzo ṇupela [tivhani]
(The goats submerged in the pool)
- c. [Bufho] lo phinyela [makoleni]
(The earoplane disappeared in the clouds)

In the above examples [Nwana], [Mbudzi] and [Bufho] are the external arguments assigned the theta-role of theme as the entity undergoing the effect of some action. The action is expressed by the verbs [-tengam-], [-ṇupel-] and [-phinyel-] respectively.

Verbs such as **mbwandamela** and **nupela** are associated with liquid substances like water or mud that affect animate or inanimate features.

2.4.3.2 Inanimate external arguments

It is also clear that the verbs of modes of being involving motion assign an argument with a [-animate] feature. These verbs assign the theta-role of theme to the external arguments:

- (56) [Tari] li papamala [maḍini]
 (The leaf floats in the water)
 PAS: [X (Loc. Y)]

In the above sentence example (56). [X] or [tari] is the external argument. This argument will be assigned the theta-role of theme as the entity moved by the action expressed by the verb [-papamal-]. The leaf [tari] can float because of the waves of water.

- (57)a. [Fulaga] i fhefheḍa [muyani]
 (The flag always in the air)
- b. [Luṭanga] lu reremela [maḍini]
 (The reed trembles in the water)
- c. [Muri] u dzinginyea [muyani]
 (The tree trembles in the air)

PAS: [X (Loc Y)]

In the above sentences [fulaga] and [muri] are associated with wind (muya); [Luṭanga] in 57(b) is associated with water. Therefore the verbs (-fhefhed_Ḷ-), [-reremel-] and [-dzinginyea-] make the external arguments to be controlled by the natural features like wind and water. The verbs in group 1 appear with inanimate only.

The verbs in group 2 do not appear with inanimate because [thanda] i.e. (log) cannot shiver, it has no sense of feeling, e.g

- (58) *[Thanda] i tetemela [mavuni]
(The pole shivers in the soil)

Lastly, in the verbs of modes of being involving motion, there are verbs which appear with animate or inanimate subjects such as **papamala**, **tengama**, **mbwandamela**, **nupela**, **phinyela** and **suvhela**.

2.4.3.3 Internal locative argument

- (59) [Fulaga] i fhefheda_Ḷ [muyani]
(The flag sways in the air)
PAS: [X (Loc. Y)]

In (59) [Y] or [muyani] which is internal argument is assigned the theta- role of location as it is the place where the entity [fulaga] is situated.

2.5 VERBS OF SOUND EXISTENCE

These verbs describe the existence of a sound and not the emission of a particular sound.

2.5.1 Aim

This section will interpret the predicate argument structure of verbs of sound existence, i.e. PAS: [X (Loc Y)].

The external argument [X] will be interpreted. All the verbs of sound existence have a locative argument and such argument will be interpreted. Such verbs include **bvuma**, **thathaba**, **unga** and **xaxara**. In this case, the external argument is only theme, the locative is location.

In this section, sentences with all the verbs of sound existence will be presented. The external argument will be [+animate] i.e. (human and animal) and [-animate]. Thereafter a table will be drawn to establish which arguments are allowed or not allowed. The interpretation of the arguments will also be given.

2.5.2 List of the verbs in sentences.

bvuma

(60)a. [+Animate]: *[Vhatukana] vha bvuma [bakoni]

(The boys sound in the cave)

:[*N_{da}u] i bvuma [ḁakani]

(The lion sound in the bush)

b. [-Animate]: [Goloi] i bvuma [badani]

(The car sounds on the road)

thathaba/thuthuba

61.a [+Animate] : [Munna] u thathaba [hayani]

(The man bursts at home)

:[*N_{da}u] i thathaba [mulamboni]

(The lion bursts in the river)

b. [-Animate]: [Mbeu] dzi thathaba [mavuni]

(The seeds burst open in the soil)

unga

(62)a. [+Animate]: *[M_uth_{an}nga] u unga [hayani]

(The young man echoed at home)

:[*N_owa] i unga [thavhani]

(The snake echoes at the mountain)

b. [-Animate] : [Muya] u unga [thavhani]

(The wind echoes in the mountain)

xaxara

(63)a. [+Animate]: *[Musadzi] u xaxara [tshĩtangani]

(The lady resonated in the kitchen)

:[N̩otshi] dzi xaxara [t̩hangoni]

(The bees resonate in the beehive)

b. [-Animate] : [Muroho] u xaxara [panini]

(The relish resonate in the pan)

(64). TABLE IV

VERBS OF SOUND EXISTENCE	+Animate		-Animate
	+HUMAN	+ANIMAL	
bvuma	-	-	+
thathaba	-	-	+
unga	-	-	+
xaxara	-	-	+

2.5.3 INTERPRETATION OF THE ARGUMENTS

2.5.3.1 External argument

(i) [+Animate] NPs

The verbs of sound existence do not take an external argument with an [+animate] feature:

(65)a. *[Vhatukana] vha bvuma [bakoni]

(The boys sound in the cave)

b. *[Ndau] i bvuma [d̩akani]

(The lion roars in the bush)

(ii) [-Animate] NPs

All verbs of sound existence assign an argument with an [-animate] feature. These verbs assign theta-roles of theme to their external argument.

(66)a. [Goloi] i bvuma [badani]

(The car sounds on the road)

b. [Mbeu] dzi thathaba [mavuni]

(The seeds burst open in the soil)

c. [Muya] u unga [thavhani]

(The wind echoes in the mountain)

d. [Muroho] u xaxara [panini]

(The relish resonate in the pan)

From the example sentence (66) above [X] or [Goloi], [Mbeu], [Muya] and [Muroho] are assigned the theta-role of theme as the entity undergoing the effect of some motion.

The verb [-bvum-] is associated with something like machines, the verb [-thathab-] can be associated with explosion, the verb [-ung-] can be associated with echoes and the verb [-xaxar-] can be associated with something that can be boiled.

2.5.3.2 Internal locative argument

From the example sentences above, it is clear that all verbs of sound existence assign a locative argument, e.g.

- (67) [Goloi] i bvuma [badani]
 (The car sounds on the road)
 PAS: [X (Loc Y)].

In the above example sentence (67) [Y] or [badani] is the locative argument which has a reading of location as it points to the place where action, which is expressed by the predicate, is happening.

2.6 VERBS OF GROUP EXISTENCE

The verbs relate to the existence of a group or aggregate, i.e. the subject argument will refer to some group.

2.6.1 Aim

This section will interpret the predicate argument structure (PAS) of verbs of group existence with the PAS: [X (Loc Y)] and PAS : [X (na – Y) (Loc – Z)]

All verbs of group existence have a locative argument and these verbs are **tangana**, **kuvhangana**, **thophana**, **khunyelela** and

vhuthana. Some of these verbs appear with a PP with **na** as head, i.e. those verbs ending on **-an-** such as reciprocal **thophana** and **vhuthana**.

There will also be a table to establish whether the arguments are allowed or not, and the argument will later on be interpreted.

The first interpretation will focus on the argument [X] = agent or theme, Y = association and Z = location.

2.6.2 List of the verbs in sentences

Group 1. (Non-reciprocal)

tangana

(68)a. [+Animate]: [Vhana] vha-do-tangana [na mudededzi] [kilasini]

(The learners will meet the educator in the class)

: [Phukha] dzi-do-tangana [na mbudzi]

[mulamboni]

(The animals will meet the goats at the river)

b. [-Animate] *[Maswiri] a -do- tangana [na zwickavhavhe] [sambeloni]

(Oranges will mix with lemons in the dish)

kuvhangana

- (69)a. [+Animate] : [Vhatukana] vha- $\dot{\text{d}}$ o-kuvhangana [na vhasidzana] [kerekeni]
 (Boys will gather with girls in the church)
 :[Kholomo] dzi – $\dot{\text{d}}$ o- kuvhangana [na $\dot{\text{n}}$ amana] [dangani]
 (The cows will gather with calves in the kraal)
- b. [-Animate]: *[Ma $\dot{\text{t}}$ ari] a- $\dot{\text{d}}$ o-kuvhangana [na malabi] [dindini]
 (The leaves will gather with rags in the pit)
 PAS: [X (na – y)(Loc – z)]

Group 2 (Reciprocal verbs)

$\dot{\text{t}}$ hophana

- (70)a. [+Animate] : [Vhana] vha- $\dot{\text{d}}$ o- $\dot{\text{t}}$ hophana [na vhabebi] [bisini]
 (The children will squeeze with parents in the bus)
 :[Kholomo] dzi- $\dot{\text{d}}$ o- $\dot{\text{t}}$ hophana [na $\dot{\text{n}}$ amana] [dipeni]
 (The cow will squeeze with calves in the dip)
- b. [-Animate] : *[Khuni] dzi- $\dot{\text{d}}$ o- $\dot{\text{t}}$ hophana [na mabambiri] [tshi $\dot{\text{t}}$ ofuni]
 (Woods will pile up with papers in the stove)

vhuthana

- (71)a. [+Animate]: [Mahosi] a-ḁo-vhuthana [navhalanda]
[musanda]
(Chiefs will gather with their subjects at the chief's kraal)
- b. [-Animate]: *[Mabambiri] a – ḁo – vhuthana [na maṭari]
[dindini]
(Papers will pile up with leaves in the pit)
PAS: [X (na- Y) (Loc –Z)]

Group 3

khunyelela

- (72)a. [+Animate]:[Vhathu] vho khunyelela [tshikoloni]
(People have gathered at school)
:[Kholomo] dzo khunyelela [dangani]
(The cattle gathered in the kraal)
- b. [-Animate] : *[Mathukhwi] a khunyelela [dindini]
(Heaps of rubbish gather in the pit)
PAS: [X (Loc –y)]

(73) TABLE VI

GROUP	VERBS	ANIMATE	INANIMATE
1	ṭangana	+	-
	kuvhangana	+	-
2	ṭhophana	+	-
	vhuthana	+	-
3	khunyelela	+	-

2.6.3 INTERPRETATION OF THE ARGUMENTS

2.6.3.1 Animate external arguments.

Verbs of group existence take an argument with an [+animate] feature. These verbs assign theta-role of agent or theme to their external arguments.

(74) [Vhatukana] vha-ḁo-kuvhangana [na vhasidzana]
[kerekeni]

(Boys will gather with girls in the church)

PAS: [X(na – y) (Loc-z)]

In the sentence above, [X] or [vhatukana] is the external argument in the subject position. The argument [vhatukana] will be assigned the theta-role of agent or theme as the intender of the action expressed by the verb [-kuvhangana-].

The verb **kuvhangana** (gather together) as a verb of group existence is also associated with a group of living things that can decide to come together in a particular place or spot. Usually people and animals will gather at a particular place with a purpose. For example, animals can gather [-kuvhangana-] in the river with the purpose of drinking water.

In the sentence (74) above, [vhatukana] is assigned an argument by the verb [-kuvhangana-]. A reading of association comes about between [vhatukana] and [vhasidzana]. The internal argument [Y] or [vhasidzana] is associated with the external argument [vhatukana].

2.6.3.2 Inanimate external arguments.

All the verbs of group existence do not assign an argument with an [-animate] feature. These verbs do not assign a theta-role to their external argument, e.g.

- (75) *[Mathukhwi] a khunyelela [dindini]
 (Heaps of rubbish gather in the pit)
 PAS: [X (Loc y)]

Reciprocal verb with affix **-an**

- (76) [Vhagudiswa] vha thophana [na vhadededzi] [kilasini]
 (The learners squeeze with educators in the class)

PAS: [X(na – y) (Loc – z)]

In (76) above, the reciprocal verb **thophana** does appear with [+animate] NPs. This verb refers to the coming together of things. Human beings or animals can be crowded or squeezed at a particular small space like a classroom. The verb **thophana** refers to the putting of things on top of the other.

2.7 VERBS OF SPATIAL CONFIGURATION

These verbs specify the spatial configuration of an entity with respect to some location, i.e. they give the place or space where an object may appear.

2.7.1 Aim

The aim of this section is to interpret the predicate argument structure (PAS) of verbs of spatial configuration, i.e. PAS: [X (Loc y)].

The external argument [X] will firstly be interpreted. Verbs of spatial configuration have a locative argument. These verbs are **kotama, fhufha, nembelela, gwadama, takuwa, dzula, kavha, tumba, ima, and tshingama.**

A table to establish whether the arguments are allowed or not will be drawn, followed by the interpretation of the arguments.

2.7.2 List of the verbs in sentences.

kotama

- (77)a. [+Animate]: [Nwana] u kotama [khoroni]
(The child bends at the entrance)
:[Mbudzi] i kotama [tshitumbani]
(The goat bends at the kraal)
- b. [-Animate]: *[Tavhi] li kotama [murini]
(The tree branch bends in the tree)

fhufha

- (78)a. [+Animate]: [Vhagidimi] vha fhufha [mudavhini]
(The athletes jump at the sports ground)
:[Kholomo] dzi fhufha [dipeni]
(The cattle jump in the dip)
- b. [-Animate]: *[Bambiri] li fhufha [muyani]
(The paper fly over the air)

nembelela

- (79)a. [+Animate]: [Munna] o nembelela [palani]
(The man dangled on the pole)
:[Mmbwa] yo nembelela [tavhini]
(the dog dangled on the branch of tree)

- b. [-Animate]: [Xara_Λdeni] li nembelela [fasi_Λtereni]
(The curtain hangs on the window)

gwadama

- (80)a. [+Animate]: [Musidzana] u gwadama [fhasi]
(The girls squats on the ground)
:[Nguluvhe] i gwadama [tshitumbani]
(The pig squats in the pig sty)
- b. [-Animate]: *[Tombo]_Λ li gwadama [mavuni]
(The stone squats on the soil)

takuwa

- (81)a. [+Animate] : [Mutshudeni] o takuwa [tshiduloni}
(The student rose from the chair)
:[Mbudzi] yo takuwa [mavuni]
(The goat rose from the soil)
- b. [-Animate]: *[Bugu] yo takuwa [ta_Λfulani]
(The book rose from the table)

dzula

- (82).a [+Animate]: [Mutukana] o dzula [hatsini]
(The boy sits on the grass)
:[Tshi_Λnoni] tshi dzula [tshi_Λtahani]
(The bird sits in the nest)

- b. [-Animate]:*[Bugu] i dzula [mukhwamani]
(The book sits in the bag)

kavha

- (83)a. [+Animate]: [Dabaḁaba] ḁo kavha [hatsini]
(A crazy person jumps over the grass)
:[Tshinoni] tsho kavha [murini]
(The bird landed in the tree)
- b. [-Animate]: [Bufho] ḁo kavha [mudavhini]
(The aeroplane landed on the aerodrome)

tumba

- (84)a. [+Animate]: [Musidzana] o tumba [tshitangani]
(The girl squatted in the kitchen)
:[Kholomo] yo tumba [dangani]
(The cow squatted in the kraal)
- b. [-Animate]:*[Thanda] yo tumba [mavuni]
(The stick squatted on the soil)

ima

- (85)a. [+Animate]: [Mudededzi] o ima [kilasini]
(The educator stood in the class)
:[Mmbwa] yo ima [ndilani]
(The dog stood on the path)

- b. [-Animate]: *[Pala] yo ima [mavuni]
(The pole stood on the ground)

tshingama

- (86)a. [+Animate]: [Makhulu] u tshingama [tshivhasoni]
(The granny bent over the fireplace)
:[Phukha] yo tshingama [tivhani]
(The animal bent towards the pool)
- b. [-Animate]: [Vothi] lo tshingama [giratshini]
(The door bent in the garage)

(87) TABLE VII

VERBS	+Animate		-Animate
	+HUMAN	+ANIMAL	
kotoma	+	+	-
fhufha	+	+	-
nembelela	+	+	+
gwadama	+	+	-
takuwa	+	+	-
dzula	+	+	-
kavha	+	+	+
tumba	+	+	-
ima	+	+	-
tshingama	+	+	+

2.7.3 THE INTERPRETATION OF THE ARGUMENTS

2.7.3.1 The external argument

(i) [+Animate] NPs

All the verbs of spatial configuration take the argument with an [+animate] feature. These verbs will assign the theta-roles of agent or theme to their NPs. The Table VII above illustrates the idea expressed by this statement.

(88)a [Mutukana] u dzula [hatsini]

(The boy sits on the grass)

b. [Musidzana] o tumba [tshítangani]

(The girl squatted in the kitchen)

In the above sentences [X] or [mutukana] and [musidzana] are assigned the theta-role of theme or agent as the initiators of the action expressed by the verbs [-dzul-] and [-tumb-] respectively. The action of [-dzul-] (to sit) or [-tumb-] (to squat) is associated with humans and animals that can sit, stand and move from one place to another. The non-living things cannot undergo the process of sitting because they do not move by themselves. They are the object that can be removed by human beings.

(ii) [-Animate] NPs

Some of the verbs of spatial configuration assign an argument with an [-animate] feature. These verbs will assign the theta-roles of themes to their NP external arguments.

- (88) [Bufho] _λ li kavha [mudavhini]
(The aeroplane lands on the airfield)

In example sentence (89) above [X] or [bufho] is assigned the theta-role of theme by the verb [-kavh-] and is the entity which is moved by the action expressed by the predicate.

2.7.3.2 Internal locative argument.

All the verbs of spatial configuration assign a locative argument, i.e. to the locative NP.

- (90) [Munna] o nembelela [palani]
(The man dangled on the pole)
PAS: [X (Loc. Y)]

The internal locative argument in (90) above is [palani] which is assigned the theta-role of location. The locative in (89) above is assigned a theta-role of source because of the meaning of the verb **takuwa**.

The verbs of spatial configuration are allowed to appear with [+animate] and [-animate] NPs. The action of the **kavha** verb implies something which flies high such as aeroplane (inanimate) or bird (animal). Inanimate objects undergo this action because they use wings to fly. Human beings do not fly – hence no landing.

2.8 MEANDER VERBS.

Many of these verbs are verbs of motion that are used to describe the location of a long object such as a road or river.

2.8.1 Aim

This section is aimed at the interpretation of the predicate argument structure (PAS) of meander verbs, i.e. PAS: [X (**na** . y)]

Firstly, the external argument [X] will be interpreted. Some meander verbs assign an external argument to the subject position and an internal argument to a PP with **na** as head.

The meander verbs to be treated according to the above definition are verbs such as **tendeleka**, **tekateka**, **monamona**, **wa**, **rembuluwa**, **budabuda**, **pafula** and **vhimbila**.

Sentences with all the verbs will be presented. The external argument will be [+animate] and [-animate]. A table to establish which arguments are allowed to appear with meander verbs will be drawn, and thereafter each of the argument will be interpreted.

2.8.2 List of the verbs in sentences.

tendeleka

- (91)a. [+Animate]: [Muimbi] u tendeleka [na shango]
 (The singer roams around the country)
 :[Mbudzi] dzi tendeleka [na tshikwara]
 (The goats roam around the hill)
- b. [-Animate]: *[Bambiri} _Λ li tendeleka [na ngade]
 (The leaf roams around the garden)

tekateka

- (92)a. [+Animate] : [Vhana] vha tekateka [na dziholo]
 (The children wander through the halls)
 :[Zwifuwo] zwi tekateka [na gammaba]
 (Livestock wander through the camp)
- b. [-Animate]: *[Malofha] a tekateka [na tsinga]
 (Blood wander through the veins)

monamona

- (93)a. [+Animate]: [Lushie] lu monamona [na kamara]
(The toddler roams around the room)
:[Nguluvhe] i monamona [na tshitumba]
(The pig roams around the pigsty)
- b. [-Animate]: *[Penisela] i monamona [na kilasi]
(The pencil roams around the class)

rembuluwa

- (94)a. [+Animate]: [Mulimi] u rembuluwa [na dzembe]
(The farmer turns around with handhoe)
:[Bere] i rembuluwa [na mpundu]
(The horse turns around with a kick)
- b. [-Animate]: *[Thanga] i rembuluwa [na nndu]
(The roof turns around with the house)

buḁabuḁa

- (95)a. [+Animate]: [Mpengo] u buḁabuḁa [na shango]
(The crazy man moves across the country)
:[Phele] i buḁabuḁa [na miedzi]
(The hyena moves across the valley)
- b. [-Animate]: *[Tshiporo] tshi buḁabuḁa [na thavha]
(The railway line crosses over the mountain)

pafula

(96)a. [+Animate]: [Musidzna] u pafula [na bada]

(The girl walks up and down the road)

:[Mboho] i pafula [na daka]

(The bull walks up and down the bush)

b. [-Animate]: *[Tari] li pafula [na ndila]

(The leaf moves through the path)

vhimbila

(97)a [+Animate]: [Muimbi] u vhimbila [na dorobo]

(The singer wanders through the city)

:[Bere] i vhimbila [na mudavhi]

(The horse wanders through the race course)

b. [-Animate]: *[Danda] li vhimbila [na mulambo]

(The log wanders along the river)

98. TABLE VIII

MEANDER VERBS	+Animate		-Animate
	+HUMAN	+ANIMAL	
tendeleka	+	+	-
tekateka	+	+	-
monamona	+	+	-
budabuda	+	+	-
pafula	+	+	-
vhimbila	+	+	-

2.8.3 INTERPRETATION OF THE ARGUMENTS

2.8.3.1 External arguments

(i) [+Animate]NPs

The feature [+animate] i.e. [+human] and [+animal] is assigned in all meander verbs. The subject argument of these meander verbs can be agent or patient, for example:

- (99)a. [Muimbi] u vhimbila [na dorobo]
 (The singer wanders through the city)
- b. [Bere] i rembuluwa [na mpundu]
 (The horse turns around with a kick)
- PAS: [X (na y)]

In the example sentence (99) (a) and (b) above [X] or [muimbi] and [bere] are assigned the theta-role of agent as the intender or doer of the action expressed by the verb [-vhimbil-] and [-rembuluw-] respectively.

This argument in (99) (a) will also be assigned the theta-role of patient, that is the person undergoing the action expressed by the predicate [-vhimbil-].

The verbs [-vhimbil-] and [-rembuluw-] are associated with human and animal beings that can move around. [-vhimbil-] or that can change direction [-rembuluw-].

Looking from the Table VIII in (98) above, it is clear that all the meander verbs are allowed to appear with all the [+animate] external NP arguments.

(ii) [-Animate] NPs

The meander verbs do not take an argument with an [-animate] feature. For example:

- (100) *[Danda] _Λ li vhimbila [na mulambo]
(The log wanders along the river)

2.8.3.2 Internal argument

The meander verbs assign an argument to the PP with na as head, e.g

- (101) [Vhana] vha tekateka [na dziholo]
(The children wander through the hall)
PAS: [X (na y)]

In (101) above [na dziholo] is the PP with **na** as head. [Vhana] is assigned the **na**₋ argument by the verb [-tekatek-]. This argument will be assigned the theta-role of location as the place in which the persons [vhana] are found. A reading of association comes about between [vhana] and [dziholo]

2.9 VERBS OF CONTIGUOUS LOCATION

These verbs describe a spatial relation between two entities that are contiguous in space and they are mostly transitive verbs.

2.9.1 Aim

This section will show the predicate argument structure (PAS) of verbs of contiguous location with the PAS: [X (y)]. [X] which is the external argument will be interpreted. Most verbs of contiguous location assign an external argument to the subject position and an internal argument to the object position.

Verbs such as **fukedza**, **tiba**, **wela**, **pfuka**, **tanga**, **tevhula**, **tika**, **tanganedza**, **kwama**, and **vhandekana** will be analysed.

These words will be presented in the sentences with external argument of [+animate] and [-animate]. A table will be drawn up to establish which arguments are allowed to appear with which verbs of contiguous location. Each of these groups of arguments will be interpreted.

2.9.2 List of the verbs in sentences

fukedza

(102)a.[+Animate]: [Mulimi] o fukedza [mavhele]

(The farmer covered mealie grains)

: [Pfene] _Λ li fukedza [nduhu]

(The baboon covers groundnuts)

b. [-Animate]: [Dzembe] _Λ li fukedza [mbeu]

(The hand hoe covers the seed)

tevhela

(103)a. [+Animate]: [Nwana] u tevhela [mme]

(The baby follows the mother)

: [Mmbwa] i tevhela [mbava]

(The dog follows the thief)

b. [-Animate]: [Maḡi] a tevhela [mugero]

(The water follows the furrow)

tika

(104)a. [+Animate]: [Vhanna] vha tika [ṭhanga]

(The men support the roof)

: [Khangaru] i tika [vhana]

(The Kangaroo supports its babies)

b. [-Animate]: [Tombo] _Λ li tika [gloi]

(The rock supports the car)

ṭanganedza

(105)a. [+Animate]: [Munna] u ṭanganedza [vhurifhi]

(The man receives the letter)

: [Pfene] _Λ li ṭanganedza [mitshelo]

(The baboon receives the fruits)

- b. [-Animate]: [Radio] i tangedza [mafhungo]
(The radio receives the news)

tiba

- (106)a.[+Animate]: [Mubiki] o tiba [bodo]
(The cook closed the pot)
:[Pfeŋe] lo tiba [bako]
(The baboon blocked the cave)
- b. [-Animate]: [Makole] o tiba [duvha]
(The cloud covered the sun)

pfuka

- (107)a.[+Animate]: [Munna] o pfuka [mulambo]
(The man crossed the river)
[+Animals]: [Nḡdou] yo pfuka [luhura]
(The elephant crossed the fence)
- b. [-Animate]: [Diraṭa] yo pfuka [pala]
(The wire is over that pole)

wela

- (108)a.[+Animate]: [Munna] o wela [mulambo]
(The man crossed the river)
[+Animal]: [Mmbwa] yo wela [mulambo]
(The dog crossed the river)

- b. [-Animate]: [Buroho] yo wela [muedzi]
(The bridge crossed the river valley)

kwama

- (109)a.[+Animate]: [Mutukana] o kwama [d_Λamu]
(The boy touched the breast)

- [+Animal]: [Pfe_Λne] l_Λo kwama [tombo]
(The baboon touched the rock)

- b. [-Animate]: *[Mundirivhe] wo kwama [nn_Λdu]
(The grape tree leaned on the house)

tanga

- (110)a.[+Animate] : [Vhatukana] vho tanga [mulilo]
(The boys surrounded the fire)

- : [Ndau] dzo tanga [mbi_Λdi]
(The lion surrounded the zembras)

- b. [-Animate]: [Luvhondo] lwo tanga [nn_Λdu]
(The wall surrounds the house)

(111) TABLE IX

VERBS	+Animate		- ANIMATE
	+HUMAN	+ANIMAL	
fukedza	+	+	+
tevhela	+	+	+
tika	+	+	+
tangedza	+	+	+
tiba	+	+	+
pfuka	+	+	+
wela	+	+	+
kwama	+	+	-
tanga	+	+	+

2.9.3 THE INTERPRETATION OF THE ARGUMENTS

2.9.3.1 The external arguments

(i) [+Animate] NPs

The table has been shown in (111) above to find out the verbs of contiguous location which are allowed to appear with particular arguments.

All the verbs of contiguous location assign an argument with an [+animate] feature. These verbs will assign a theta-role of agent or theme to their external arguments.

In sentence example (113) above, [X] or [Makole] and [Mundirivhe] are assigned the theta-role of theme. The arguments [makole] and [mundirivhe] are moved by the action expressed by the verbs [-tib-] and [-kwam-] respectively.

2.9.3.2 The internal argument

The internal argument in the sentences (102- 111) above are all interpreted as theme.

CHAPTER THREE

3. ALTERNATIONS

3.1 LOCATIVE INVERSION

3.1.1 Introduction

The main aim of this section is to examine the compatibility between Tshivenda verbs of existence and locative inversion. This will be applied to the possible inversion of the subject NP with special reference to the intransitive verbs and a locative argument. Various sentences of the verbs of existence will be examined to determine locative inversion, including the possible semantics resulting from theta-roles relevant to these.

Locative inversion is characterized by a non-canonical word order: [PP V NP]. It can be seen by movement or change of the NP and PP in the canonical [NP V PP] word order. This word order [PP V NP] indicates the presence of a PP which is typically a locative or a directional PP in a preverbal position. Examples in Tshivenda, of this word order, will later on be analysed from a post verbal position to a preverbal position, i.e. from [NP V PP] or [PP V NP].

Bresnan and Kanerva (1989) using Chichewa example sentences, propose a locative inversion construction in which a

locative phrase is preposed and the subject postponed. The opinion of Bresnan and Kanerva is more or less the same as that of Levin and Hovav (1995) as shown in the following examples:

- (1) a. Ku-mu-dzi ku-li chi-tsime
17 – 3 village 17SB-be 7-well
(In a village is a well)
- (b) Chi-tsime chi-li ku-mu-dzi
7-well 17SB-be 17-3 village
(The well is in the village)

- (2) a. Ku-mu-dzi ku-na- bwe'r-e' a-lendô-wo
17-3 village 17SB-rec pst-come-ind 2- visitor – 2
those
(To the village came those visitors)

- b. A-lendô-wo a –na- bwe'r- a' ku-mu-dzi
2-visitor –2 those 2SB-rec pst – come-ind 17-3-village
(Those visitors came to the village)

In (1) and (2) above, the locative inversions alternate uninverted forms that share the same thematic role structure. As indicated in the above sentences, i.e. (1) the locative argument [Kumudzi] alternates with the subject NP [chitsime] while in (2) the locative [kumudzi] alternates with the subject NP [a-lendôwo].

From the above examples the word order changes from [LOC V S] to [S V LOC].

The locative inversions, in Tshivenda, will be tested to appear in the following sentence examples:

- (3) a. [Vhana] vho dzumbama [giratshini]
(The children are hidden in the garage)
- c. [Giratshini] ho dzumbama [vhana]
(In the garage the children are hidden)
- (4) a. [Munna] u dzula [mukhukhuni]
(The man lives in a shack)
- b. [Mukhukhuni] hu dzula [munna]
(In a shack lives the man)
- (5) a. [Vhasadzi] vha lindela [kerekeni]
(The women wait in the church)
- b. [Kerekeni] hu lindela [vhasadzi]
(In the church the women are waiting)

In sentences 3 (a) and (b) the locative [giratshi] alternates with [vhana]. In 4 (a) and (b) locative [mukhukhuni] alternates with [munna] whereas in 5 (a) and (b) locative [kerekeni]

alternates with [vhasadzi]. The sentences in (3) to (5) follow the same sequence that changes from [NP V Loc] to [Loc V NP]. Although the order differs from that of Levin and Hovav, and Bresnan and Kanerva, it is clear that locative inversion is possible with Tshivenda intransitive verb constructions. In (3) to (5) locative inversion is possible as indicated by Levin and Hovav below:

- (i) The word order switches, i.e. from [LOC V NP] to [NP V LOC] which is similar to that of Bresnan and Kanerva, but the Tshivenda switch is the opposite.
- (ii) The presence of a locative or directional PP, and
- (iii) Intransitive verb constructions.

More attention will be paid to find out whether the following sentences do accept locative inversion. This will be seen by studying subject agreement, object agreement and movement in passive:

- (6) a. Mushumoni hu a vhilingana
(It is chaotic in the work)
- vs
- b. Mushumoni hone ho vhilinganaho
(In the work where it is chaotic)

In 6(b) the relative verb [ho vhilinganaho] brings about agreement between the subject [mushumoni] and the relative clause [hone ho vhilinganaho]

- (7) a. Ndi funa mushumoni
(I like in the work)
vs
b. Ndi a hu funa mushumoni
(I like it in the work)

The objectival agreement in the example sentences above can be read between the objectival [hu] and the object NP [mushumoni]

Movement in the passive will be considered in the following sentences:

- (8) Mushumoni hune ha funwa nga n_Ane
(In the work where it is liked by me)

Originally, the sentence reads thus:

- (9) Ndi funa mushumoni
(I like at work)

In order that a passive form occurs, the NP [mushumoni] has to move to the empty position at subject position. This

movement causes [mushumoni] to leave a trace (t) to reach the subject position.

- (10) Mushumoni hune ha funwa (t) nga n_{ne}
 e v-w- NP
 (At work where it is liked by me)

The following examples will indicate whether the verbs of existence will accept locative inversion in Tshivenda.

3.1.2 Exist verbs

Most of the exist verbs allow locative inversion: e.g.

- (11) a. [Mutukana] u dzula [Tshitandani]
 (The boy lives at Louis Trichardt)
- b. [Tshitandani] hu dzula [mutukana]
 (At Louis Trichardt there lives a boy)
- (12) a. [Musadzi] u sala [hayani]
 (The woman, remains at home)
- b. [Hayani] hu sala [musadzi]
 (At home, there remains the woman)
- (13) a. [Phukha] yo khuda [d_{akani}]
 (The animal is hidden in the bush)

- b. [Dakani] ho khuda [phukha]
(In the bush the animal is hidden)

It is clear that in 11 (a) and (b) the locative [Tshitandani] alternates with the NP [mutukana]. The locative [hayani] in 12(a) and (b) alternates with the NP [musadzi] and in 13 (a) and (b) [dakani] alternates with [phukha]. It is also evident that the word order in the constructions (11), (12) and (13) switch from [NP V LOC] to [LOC V NP].

Some of the exist verbs which are compatible with locative inversion are **dzumbana**, **tshila** and **lala**.

3.1.3 Verbs of entity-specific modes of being.

All verbs of entity-specific modes of being do not allow locative inversion.

3.1.4 Verbs of being involving motion

Some of the verbs of modes of being involving motion accept locative inversion. It is evident that these verbs have the necessary requirements for locative inversion construction as indicated below:

- (14) a. [Musidzana] u papamala [tivhani]
(The girl floats on the pool)

- b. [Tivhani] hu papamala [musidzana]
(In the pool there floats the girl)
- (15) a. [Bambiri] li fhefheda [muyani].
(The paper flutters in the air)
- b. [Muyani] hu fhefheda [bambiri]
(In the air flutters the paper)

The sentences in 14 (a) and (b) indicate an alternation between the locative [tivhani] and the NP [musidzana]. Sentences 15 (a) and (b) has the alternation between the locative [muyani] and the NP [bambiri].

Some of the verbs of modes of being involving motion which are compatible with locative inversion are **dzinginyea**, **babamela**, **papamala**, **tengama**, **mbwandamela**, **nupela**, **phinyela** and **suvhela**.

3.1.5 Verbs of sound existence

Verbs of sound existence accept locative inversion.

- (16) a. [Goloi] i bvuma [badani]
(The car sounds on the road)
- b. [Badani] hu bvuma [goloi]

(On the road sounds the car)

- (17) a. [Mbeu] dzi thathaba [mavuni]
(The seeds burst open in the soil)
- b. [Mavuni] hu thathaba [mbeu]
(In the soil burst the seeds open)
- (18) a. [Muya] u unga [thavhani]
(The wind echoes in the mountain)
- b. [Thavhani] hu unga [muya]
(In the mountain echoes the wind)

It is clear that in 16 (a) and (b) the locative [badani] alternates with the NP [goloi], in 17 (a) and (b) the locative [mavuni] alternates with the NP [mbeu] and in 18 (a) and (b) [thavhani] alternates with [muya]. It is also evident that the word order in the constructions in (16), (17) and (18) switches from [NP V LOC] to [LOC V NP].

Another verb of sound existence which is compatible with locative inversion is **xaxara**.

3.1.6 Verbs of group existence

Verbs of group existence accept locative inversion.

- (19) a. [Vhana] vha – d_o – t_angana [na mudededzi]
[ki_lasini]
(The learners will meet the educator in the class)
- b. [Ki_lasini] hu- d_o- t_angana [vhana] [na mudededzi]
(In the class the learners will meet the educator)
- (20) a. [Vhatukana] vha – d_o – kuvhangana [na vhasidzana] [kerekeni]
(Boys will gather with girls in the church)
- b. [Kerekeni] hu – d_o – kuvhangana [vhatukana] [na vhasidzana]
(In the church the boys will gather with the girls)
- (21) a. [Mahosi] a – d_o – vhuthana [na vhalanda] [musanda]
(Chiefs will gather with their subjects at the chief's kraal)
- b. [Musanda] hu – d_o – vhuthana [mahosi] [na vhalanda]
(At the chief's kraal will gather chiefs with their subjects)

It is clear that in 19 (a) and (b) the locative [ki_lasini] alternates with the NP [vhana]. The locative [kerekeni] in 20 (a) and (b)

alternates with [vhatukana] and in 21 (a) and (b) [musanda] alternates with NP [mahosi]. It is also evident that the word order in constructions in (19), (20) and (21) switches from [NP V LOC] to [LOC V NP].

Some of the verbs of group existence which are compatible with locative inversion are **thophana** and **khunyelela**.

3.1.7 Verbs of spatial configuration

Verbs of spatial configuration accept locative inversion.

- (22) a. [N̄wana] u kotama [khoroni]
(The child bends at the entrance)
- b. [Khoroni] hu kotama [n̄wana]
(At the entrance bends the child)
- (23) a. [Vhagidimi] vha fhufha [mudavhini]
(The athletes jump at the sports ground)
- b. [Mudavhini] hu fhufha [vhagidimi]
(At the sports ground jump the athletes)
- (24) a. [Mutshudeni] o takuwa [tshiduloni]
(The student rose from the chair)

- b. [Tshiduloni] ho takuwa [mutshudeni]
(From the chair rose the student)

From the above examples, it is clear that in 22 (a) and (b) the locative [khoroni] alternates with NP [n'wana]. The locative [mudavhini] in 24 (a) and (b) alternates with NP [vhagidimi] and the locative [tshiduloni] in 24 (a) and (b) alternates with NP [matshudeni]. It is also evident that the word order in construction in (22), (23) and (24) switches from [NP V LOC] to [LOC V NP]. Some of the verbs of spatial configuration which are compatible with locative inversion are **fhufha**, **nembelela**, **gwadama**, **dzula**, **kavha**, **tumba**, **ima** and **tshingama**.

3.1.8 Meander verbs

Meander verbs are not compatible with locative inversion. These are verbs such as **tendeleka**, **tekateka**, **monamona**, **rembuluwa**, **budabuda**, **pafula** and **vhimbila**.

3.1.9 Verbs of contiguous location

The verbs of contiguous location are not compatible with locative inversion. These verbs lack the necessary requirements for a locative inversion construction. Several verbs of contiguous location are transitive and assign the **na** – argument.

3.2 LOCATIVE AND SUBJECT INVERSIONS

The possible relationship between locative inversion and subject inversion will be examined as indicated below:

- (25) a. [Mutukana] u dzula [Tshitandani]
(The boy lives at Louis Trichardt)
- b. [Tshitandani] hu dzula [mutukana]
(At Louis Trichardt there lives the boy)
- (26) a. [Mutukana] u dzula [Tshitandani]
(The boy lives at Louis Trichardt)
- b. Hu dzula mutukana [Tshitandani]
(It is lived the boy at Louis Trichardt)

In the example above 25 (a) and (b) exemplify locative inversion, whereas 26 (a) and (b) exemplify subject inversion. In (25) the word order changes from [NP V LOC] to [LOC V NP]. In (26) the switch is from [NP V LOC] to [V NP LOC]

3.2.1 Stylistic movement

The locative can be anywhere in the sentence, this will be demonstrated in the sentences below:

- (27) a. [Goloi] i bvuma [badani]
(The car sounds on the road)
- b. [Badani] hu bvuma [goloi]
(On the road the car sounds)
- (28) a. [Fulaga] i fhefheḁa [muyani]
(The flag sways in the air)
- b. [Muyani] hu fhefheḁa [fulaga]
(In the air the flag sways)
- (29) a. [Mutukana] u dzula [hayani]
(The boy lives at home)
- b. [Hayani] hu dzula [mutukana]
(At home there lives the boy)

The above example sentences, (27), (28) and (29) indicate stylistic movement. It is possible with locative inversion. With subject inversion the locative is preferred as in the sentence below, that is after the NP:

- (30) Hu babamela [khuhu] [tshiḁangani]
(It is the hen which flutters in the kitchen)

With subject inversion the locative is postverbal or postponed and follows immediately after the NP as in the sentence above.

3.2.2 The relative clause construction

- (31) a. [Tshitandani] hu dzula [mutukana]
(At Louis Trichardt there lives the boy)
- b. Hu dzula mutukana [Tshitandani]
(It is lived the boy at Louis Trichardt)

[Hu], in 31 (a) refers to the locative argument [Tshitandani]

- (32) [Tshitandani] hone hu dzulaho [mutukana]
(At Louis Trichardt where the boy lives)

In the locative inversion construction in (32) [hone] and [hu] refer to the locative [Tshitandani], i.e. the antecedent of the relative is the locative [Tshitandani]

3.2.3 Focus

The following example will be used to determine focus with regard to locative inversion and subject inversion;

- (33) Hu dzula [vhakalaha] kerekeni hu si [vhakegulu]

(It is lived the oldmen in the church and not the old women)

(34) Hu dzula vhathu [kerekeni] hu si [vhengeleni]

(It is lived people in the church and not in the shop)

In (33) focus is on [vhakalaha] and in (34) it is on [kerekeni]. As indicated, the focus is not present in locative inversion. The relationship or comparison between locative inversion and subject inversion indicates contrasts between [vhakalaha] and [vhakegulu], [kerekeni] and [vhengeleni] respectively. This refers to the changes in word order, i.e. from [NP V LOC] to [LOC V NP] for locative inversion and from [NP V LOC] to [V NP LOC] for subject inversion.

3.3 THE CAUSATIVE

3.3.1. Aim

In this section the possible operation of the causative with Tshivenda verbs of existence will be examined.

Du Plessis and Visser (1996) state that the causative, just like the applicative, makes intransitive verbs transitive. This is possible by affixing the **-is-** affix to intransitive verbs. Causativization introduces a special argument, the causative agent, which is an external argument in the subject position of

sentences. This agent may also be permissive or assistive. This is to be demonstrated in the sentences below:

(35) U sinisa mitshelo

(He causes fruits to rot)

(36) Mudededzi o lengisa vhagudiswa

(The educator permits learners to delay)

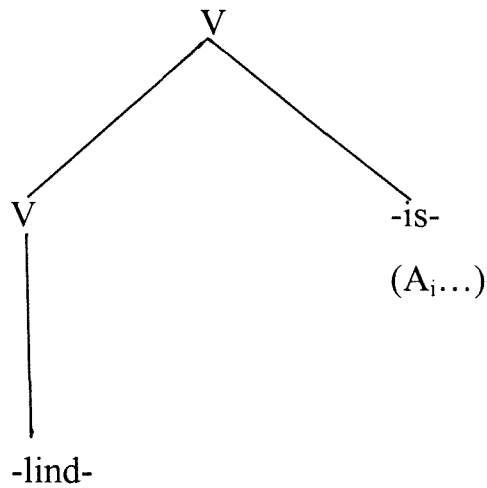
(37) Mushumi u dzulisa vhaeni

(The worker assists the visitors to sit down)

Alsina (1992) maintains that causatives are morphologically composed of a causative morpheme, i.e. **-is-** and a base verb. The example in Tshivenda above are **sina**, **lenga** and **dzula** (base verbs), and after suffix **-is-** they change to be **sinisa**, **lengisa** and **dzulisa** respectively. Alsina furthermore, states that the causative is a two- place or three – place predicate which expresses a relation between a causer and a caused event.

Williams (1981) suggests that the causative agent as an external argument becomes the head of the argument structure. The causative derived word determines the external argument of the word, as portrayed by the structure below:

(38)



[39] [Musidzana] u lindisa [mme] [tsimu]

(The girl helps/causes the mother to look after the field)

In (38) above the causative verbal suffix **-is-** bears an external argument, the causative agent [musidzana] becomes the external argument of the whole. The arguments of the nonhead verbal stem **-lind-**, including its external argument, become the internal arguments of the whole.

In (39) [musidzana] is the causative agent and the new external argument of the whole. Still in (39) [mme] is the old external argument of the verb **-lind-**, i.e. the agent which now becomes the internal argument together with [tsimu] which is the theme.

Most of the verbs of existence in Tshivenda will be considered, that is exist verbs, verbs of entity-specific modes of being, verbs of modes of being involving motion and verbs of sound existence:

3.3.2 Exist verbs

- (40) a. [Mutukana] u dzula [Tshitandani]
(The boy lives at Louis Trichardt)
- b. [Mufunzi] u dzulisa [mutukana] [Tshitandani]
(The pastor makes the boy to live at Louis Trichardt)
- (41) a. [Kholomo] i khuda [dangani]
(The cow hides in the kraal)
- b. [Mulisa] u khudisa [kholomo] [dangani]
(The shepherd makes the cow to hide in the kraal)
- (42) a. [Mutshudeni] u lenga [tshikoloni]
(The learner delays at the school)
- b. [Vhabebi] vha lengisa [mutshudeni] [tshikoloni]
(The parents makes the learner to delay at the school)

The effect of the causative **–is–** on the verbs is illustrated in the examples above. The causative **–is–** bears new external arguments, i.e. [mufunzi] in 40 (b), [mulisa] in 41 (b) and [vhabebe] in 42 (b). The three nouns are new agents, that is causative agents. The old agents, [mutukana] in 40 (a), [kholomo] in 41 (a) and [mutshudeni] in 41 (a) are now internal arguments while [Tshitandani], [dangani] and [tshikoloni] are locatives.

Some of the exist verbs which take the causative **–is–** are **dzumbama, lala, sala, khuda** and **tshila**. The exist verbs which do not accept the causative **–is–** are the applicative verbs such as **imela** and **lindela**.

3.3.3 Verbs of entity-specific modes of being

The verbs of entity specific modes of being are compatible with the causative. Other verbs have new external arguments. The old external argument becomes internal argument e.g.

- (43) a. [Ma_λdi] a a shuluwa
(The water cascades)
- b. [Mvula] i shuluwisa [ma_λdi]
(The rain makes water to cascade)

- (44) a. [N_Λama] i a sina
(The meat rots)
- b. [Firidzhi] i sinisa [n_Λama]
(The refridgerator causes the meat to rot)
- (45) a. [Mavhele] a a mela
(Maize grow)
- b. [Manyoro] a melisa [mavhela]
(The manure makes maize to grow)

In the above sentences example, the themes [ma_Λdi], in 43 (b), [n_Λama] in 44 (b) and [mavhele] in 45 (b) are now internal arguments with a reading of patient. The position of the old themes are now postverbal.

3.3.4 Verbs of modes of being involving motion.

All the verbs of modes of being involving motion are compatible with the causative, as indicated in the following sentences:

- (46) a. [N^{*}wana] u tetemela [phephoni]
(The child shivers in the cold)

- b. [Mme] vha tetemelisa [n'wana] [phephoni]
(The mother makes the child to shiver in the cold)
- (47) a. [Fulaga] i fhefheḁa [palani]
(The flag flutters on the pole)
- b. [Muya] u fhefheḁisa [fulaga] [palani]
(The wind makes the flag to flutter on the pole)
- (48) a. [Tshisebe] tshi mbwandamela [maḁini]
(The soap submerges in the water)
- b. [Musidzana] u mbwandamela [tshisibe] [maḁini]
(The girl makes the soap to submerge in the water)

In 46 (b) and 48 9b) [mme] and [musidzana] are the new external arguments which have the feature [+human]. The old themes [fulaga] in 47 (a) and [tshisibe] in 48 (a) now become patient and internal arguments.

3.3.5 Verbs of sound existence

The verbs of sound existence accept the causative. This can be demonstrated in the following sentences:

- (49) a. [Muroho] u xaxara [panini]
(The relish resonate in the pan)

- b. [Mubiki] u xaxarisa [muroho] [panini]
(The cook makes the relish to resonate in the pan)
- (50) a. [Mbeu] dzi thathaba [mavuni]
(The seeds burst open in the soil)
- b. [Mulimi] u thathabisa [mbeu] [mavuni]
(The farmer makes the seeds to burst open in the soil)
- (51) a. [Goloi] i bvuma [badani]
(The car sounds on the road)
- b. [Mureili] u bvumisa [goloi] [badani]
(The driver makes the car to sound on the road)

In 49 (b) [Mubiki] is the head of the internal arguments [muroho] and [panini]. [Mubiki] is the new external argument or agent. [Muroho], which is the old theme, is now an internal argument with a reading of patient. In 50 (b) and 51 (b) [Mulimi] and [mureili] are the new external arguments with [mavuni] and [badani] as the internal locative arguments.

3.3.6. Verbs of group existence

The sentences below are to show the acceptance of the causative by the verbs of group existence.

- (52) a. [Vhathu] vho khunyelela [tshikoloni]
(People have gathered at school)
- b. [Thoho-ya-tshikolo] vho khunyelelisa [vhathu]
[tshikoloni]
(The principal let the people to gather at school)
- (53) a. [Mashonzha] o tanga [na nawa] [ndishini]
(Mopani worms mixed with beans in the dish)
- b. [Mushumi] u tanganisa [mashonzha] [na nawa]
[ndishini]
(The worker makes the mopani worms to mix with
beans in the dish)

The demonstration in 52 (b) and 53 (b) above, i.e. [thoho-ya-tshikolo] and [mushumi] are the new external arguments, the new agents and heads of [vhathu] and [mashonzha] respectively. The old agents [vhathu] and [mashonzha] are now internal arguments and have a reading of patient.

3.3.7 Verbs of spatial configuration

Some of the verbs of spatial configuration accept the causative.

- (54) a. [Musidzana] u gwadama [fhasi]
(The girl squats on the ground)

- b. [Makhulu] vha gwadamisa [musidzana] [fhasi]
(Granny makes the girl to squat on the ground)
- (55) a. [Mulwadze] o tshingama [mmbeteni]
(The patient leans on the bed)
- b. [Mushumi] o tshingamisa [mulwadze] [mmbeteni]
(The worker makes the patient to lean on the bed)
- (56) a. [Xaradeni] li nembelela [fasitereni]
(The curtain hangs on the window)
- b. [Musadzi] u nembelelisa [xaradeni] [fasitereni]
(The woman makes the curtain to hang on the window)

In 54 (b) [makhulu], in 55 (b) [mushumi] and [musadzi] in 56 (b) are the heads and the new external arguments or agents of their internal arguments [musidzana], [mulwadze] and [xaradeni] in all (b)s above are the internal arguments with a reading of patient. In 55 (b) [tshingamelisa] has a permissive, assistive and causative reading.

3.3.8 Meander verbs.

The following examples are of the meander verbs which also accept the causative:

- (57) a. [Muimbi] u tendeleka [na holo]
(The singer lingers through the hall)
- b. [Mudededzi] u tendelekisa [muimbi] [na holo]
(The educator makes the singer to wander through the hall)
- (58) a. [Musidzana] u pafula [na shango]
(The girl roams around the country)
- b. [Vhabebi] vha pafulisa [musidzana] [na shango]
(The parents make the girl to roam around the country)
- (59) a. [Zwifuwo] zwi tekateka [na gammaba]
(The livestock wanders through the camp)
- b. [Mulisa] u tekatekisa [zwifuwo] [na gammaba]
(The shepherd makes the livestock to wander through the camp)

In 57 (b) [Mudededzi] is the new agent and external argument. [Mudededzi] is also the head of the internal arguments [muimbi] and [na holo]. The old agent [muimbi] is now an internal argument together with the **na-** phrase [na holo]. In 59 (b) [mulisa] is the new head or external arguments of its

internal argument [zwifuwo]. [Zwifuwo] in 59 (b) as internal argument has a reading of patient.

Some meander verbs accept the causative such as **monamona**, **rembuluwa**, **budabuda** and **vhimbila**.

3.3.9 Verbs of contiguous location.

Some of the verbs of contiguous location are also compatible with the causative. Consider the following sentences for illustration:

- (60) a. [Mutukana] u tika [t_hhanga]
(The boy supports the roof)
- b. [Khotsi] vha tikisa [mutukana] [t_hhanga]
(The father makes the boy to support the roof)
- (61) a. [Mutukana] o kwama [d_hdamu]
(The boy touched the breast)
- b. [Musidzana] u kwamisa [mutukana] [d_hdamu]
(The girl lets the boy to touch the breast)
- (62) a. [Nwana] u pfuka [mulambo]
(The boy crosses the river)
- b. [Mme] vha pfukisa [nwana] [mulambo]
(The mother makes the baby to cross the river)

In example sentence 60 (b) [khotsi] is the new external argument. [Khotsi] is also the head of the internal arguments [mutukana] and [thanga]. The old agent [mutukana] is now the internal argument assigned the theta-role of malefactive by the verb [tika]. The verb [pfukisa] in 62 (b) has also an assistive or permissive reading. [musidzana] in 61 (b) is the new external argument and causative agent. It is the head of the internal arguments [mutukana] and [damu]. In 62(b) [mme] is the new external argument and head of the internal arguments [nwana] and [mulambo]. [nwana] is now an internal argument with a reading of patient.

There are some of the verbs of contiguous location which accept the causative – verbs such as **fukedza**, **tevhela**, **tanganedza**, **tiba**, **wela** and **tanga**.

3.4 LOCATION ALTERNATION

3.4.1 Aim

This section is aimed at the interpretation of the application of locative alternation of the verbs of existence in Tshivenda.

3.4.2 NP PP (Loc)/NP NP alternation

The NP PP (Loc) complement alternates with the NP NP complement, for example:

- (63) a. Mutukana u – λ aisa hatsi λ orini
 Boy AGR- load –IND grasses truck
 (The boy loads grasses in the truck)
- b. Mutukana u – λ aisa λ ori hatsi
 Boy AGR – load- IND truck grasses
 (The boy loads truck with grasses)
- c. *Mutukana u – λ aisa λ ori nga – hatsi
 Boy AGR – load – IND – truck with
 grasses
 (The boy loads truck with grasses)

In the above example sentences, 63 (a) the NP PP (Loc) complement [λ orini] alternates with the NP NP complement [mahatsi] in 63 (b).

3.4.3 NP PP (Loc)/NP PP (instru) alternation

- 64 a. Vhasadzi vha –shela halwa bo λ eloni
 Women AGR-pour-IND liquor bottle
 (The women pour liquor into the bottle)
- b. Vhasadzi vha - shela bo λ elo halwa
 Women AGR- pour- IND bottle liquor
 (The women pour bottle with liquor)

- c. Vhasadzi vha - shela bodelo nga – halwa
 Women AGR – pour- IND bottle with liquor
 (The women pour bottle with liquor)

In example sentences above, 64 (a) the NP PP (loc) [bod_Λeloni] alternates with the NP PP (instru) [nga – halwa] in 64 (c).

3.4.4 NP PP (Loc)/NP PP (instru)/NP NP alternation

- (65) a. Musadzi u – shula vhutoko tshita_Λngani
 Woman AGR – polish – IND dung kitche – loc
 (The woman polishes the dung in the kitchen)
- b. *Musadzi u - shula tshita_Λnga vhutoko
 Woman AGR- polish-IND kitchen dung
 (The woman polishes the kitchen with dung)
- c. Musadzi u - shula tshita_Λnga nga vhutoko
 Woman AGR – polish – IND kitchen with dung
 (The woman polishes the kitchen with dung)

In example sentence 65 (a) the NP PP (loc) [tshita_Λngani] alternates with the NP PP (instru) [nga vhutoko] in 65 (c). In these alterations the locative arguments become non-locatives, i.e. [tshita_Λngani] becomes [tshita_Λnga]

3.4.5 Locative alternations to verbs of existence

3.4.5.1 NP PP (loc)/ NP NP alternation.

- (66) a. [Mutukana] u _Λlaisa [hatsi] [_Λlorini]
(The boy loads grasses in the truck)
- b. [Mutukana] u _Λlaisa [_Λlori] [hatsi]
(The boy loads truck with grasses)

In this group the NP PP (loc) complement should alternate with the NP NP complement. All the exist verbs do not accept the above alternation, as most of these verbs are intransitive. The following are the transitive verbs which do not allow this alternation.

- (67) [Mutukana] u imela [mme] [hayani]
(The boy waits for the mother at home)

In 66 [imela] is the example of transitive verb which do not accept the alternation.

3.4.5.2 NP PP (loc)/ NP NP (instru)/ NP NP alternation

- (68) a. [Musadzi] u shula [vhutoko] [tshi_Λtangani]
(The woman polishes dung in the kitchen)
- b. [Musadzi] u shula [tshi_Λtanga] nga [vhutoko]

(The woman polishes the kitchen with dung)

- (69) a. [Musadzi] u shula [vhutoko] [tshitangani]
(The woman polishes dung in the kitchen)
- b. [Musadzi] u shula [tshitanga] [vhutoko]
(The woman polishes the kitchen with dung)

In the above example sentences, the NP PP (Loc) [tshita_Λngani] alternates with the NP PP (instru) [vhutoko] or NP NP. This is the indication that the Tshivenda exist verbs do accept this alternation.

3.5 LOCATION SUBJECT ALTERNATION

Location subject alternation occurs with verbs that take oblique subjects which can be characterized as location. This location subject alternation can be demonstrated below:

- (70) a. [Tshene_Λ] i mela [ngadeni]
(The weeds grow in the garden)
- b. [Ngade] yo mela [tshene_Λ]
(The garden grew the weeds)

In 70 (a) the NP_{loc} [ngadeni] alternates with [tshene_Λ] in (b) and has changed to a non-locative NP [ngade] in 70 (b). The

subject NP [tshene] in 70 (a) turned to be new object in 70 (b).
This can also be tested below:

(i) **Objectival agreement**

(71) *[Ngade] i a i mela [tshene]
AGRO_i – V NP_i

In the above sentence example (71) the NP [tshene] is in the post-verbal position. Its object concord [i], which is coindexed to the verb [mela], brings about objectival agreement in the sentence. The presence of this objectival agreement leads to the ungrammatical construction of the sentence which is disallowed.

(ii) **Movement in passive**

(72) *[Tshene] i melwa (t) [nga ngade]
e V – W NP

In (72) the NP [tshene] has left its original position, i.e. a trace (t) after the verb [melwa]. Now the NP [tshene] occupies the empty (e) subject position as indicated in the sentence. The position of [tshene] at subject position makes the passivity which is caused by the verb [melwa] which also brings about the ungrammatical sentence - hence asterick (*) above.

3.5.1 The application of location subject alternation to Tshivenda verb of existence.

3.5.1.1 Exist verbs

(73) a. [Phukha] dzi dzula [_Λdakani]
(The animals live in the veld)

b. [_ΛDaka] li dzula [phukha]
(In the veld live animals)

(74) a. [Musidzana] o lala [_Λnduni]
(The girl slept in the house)

b. [_ΛNndu] yo lala [musidzana]
(In the house slept the girl)

(75) a. [Munna] u khuda [kerekeni]
(The man hides in the church)

b. [Kerekeni] i khuda [munna]
(In the church hides the man)

In the example sentence 73 (a) above, [phukha] alternates with [_Λdaka] in (b), in 74 (a) [musidzana] alternates with [kereke] in (b). The NP locative in the above sentences [_Λdakani], [_Λnduni]

In these sentences [phukha], [musidzana] and [munna] appear as adjuncts, not objects. There are some exist verbs which do not accept location subject alternation. They are verbs such as **linda, lenga** and **dzumbama**.

3.5.1.2 Verbs of entity – specific modes of being.

- (76) a. [Mulilo] u a duga
(The fire burns)
- b. [Hu] duga mulilo
(There burns the fire)
- (77) a. [Maḁi] a a shuluwa
(The water cascades)
- b. [Hu] shuluwa maḁi
(There cascades the water)

The verbs of entity-specific modes of being do not accept location subject alternation because they consist of intransitive verbs only with no locatives. These are verbs such as **vhudzula, duga, swa, nyenga, sina, vuva, rosa, mela, fhufhuma, simuwa, hula, aluwa, puta, oma, rafhuwa, xa, kegula** and **kalaha**.

3.5.1.3 Verbs of modes of being involving motion

- (78) a. [N_Λowa] yo suvhela [mulindini]
(The snake crept into the hole)
- b. [Mulindi] wo suvhela [n_Λowa]
(In the hole crept the snake)
- (79) a. [Lu_Λtanga] lu reremela [ma_Λdini]
(The reed trembles in the water)
- b. [Ma_Λdi] a reremela [lu_Λtanga]
(In the water trembles the reed)
- (80) a. [Danda] li mbwandamela [tivhani]
(The log sinks in the pool)
- b. [Tivha] li mbwandamela [danda]
(In the pool sinks the log)

Some verbs of modes of being involving motion accept location subject alternation, in 80 (a) [danda] alternates with [tivha] in 80 (b).

3.5.1.4 Verbs of sound existence

- (81) a. [Mu_λno] u thathaba [muliloni]
(The salt burst in the fire)
- b. [Mulilo] u thathaba [mu_λno]
(The fire is burst with salt)
- (82) a. [Mathuthuba] a thuthuba [panini]
(Popcorns are burst in the pan)
- b. [Pani] i thuthuba [mathuthu]
(The pan is burst with pop corns)
- (83) a. [Muroho] u xaxara [bodoni]
(The relish resonate in the pot)
- b. [Bodo] i xaxara [muroho]
(The pot is resonated with relish)
- (84) a. [Muya] u unga [thavhani]
(The wind is echoing in the mountain)
- b. [Thavha] i unga [muya]
(The mountain is echoing with wind)

Some verbs of sound existence accept location subject alternation as demonstrated above.

3.5.1.5 Verbs of group existence.

- (85) a. [Vhathu] vho khunyelela [tshikoloni]
(People have gathered at school)
- b. [Tshikolo] tshi khunyelela [vhathu]
(The school is gathered with the people)
- (86) a. [Mahosi] a – do – vhuthana [na vhalanda]
(Chiefs will gather with their subjects)
- b. [Vhalanda] vha – do – vhuthana [na mahosi]
(The subjects will gather with their chiefs)

Verbs of group existence accept location subject alternation as demonstrated in the sentences above. The following verbs do not accept the location subject alternation i.e. **thophana**, **kuvhangana** and **tangana**.

3.5.1.6 Verbs of spatial configuration

- (87) a. [Tshinoni] tshi kavha [murini]
(The bird lands on the tree)

- b. [Muri] u kavha [tshinoni]
(The tree is landed by the bird)
- (88) a. [Munna] u dzula [guvhani]
(The man sits on the wall)
- b. [Guvha] li dzula [munna]
(The wall is sitted with the man)
- (89) a. [Mudededzi] o takuwa [tshiduloni]
(The educator rose from the chair)
- b. [Tshidulo] tsho takuwa [mudededzi]
(From the chair rose the educator)

Apart from the verbs in the sentences, the following verbs of spatial configuration, i.e. **kotama**, **fhufha**, **nembelela**, **gwadama**, **tumba**, **ima** and **tshingama** do accept the locative subject alternation.

3.5.1.7 Meander verbs

The meander verbs do not allow locative inversion because no locative is present in their PAS: These are verbs such as **tendeleka**, **tekateka**, **monamona**, **rembuluwa**, **budabuda**, **pafula** and **vhimbila**.

3.5.1.8 Verbs of contiguous location.

All the verbs of contiguous location do not accept the location subject alternation, i.e. **fukedza**, **tevhela**, **tanganedza**, **tiba**, **pfuka**, **wela**, **kwama** and **tanga**.

3.6 APPLICATIVE

According to Du Plessis and Visser (1996) the applied **-el-** is a transitivity suffix used in the derivation of verbs. Its effect is that of changing, e.g. intransitive verbs to transitive verbs. Intransitive verbs with **-el-** assign an internal and an external argument. The added **-el-** on applicatives brings about different readings or interpretations on the argument which is dependent on the presence of the suffix **-el-**, i.e. beneficiary, purpose, source, replacement, etc.

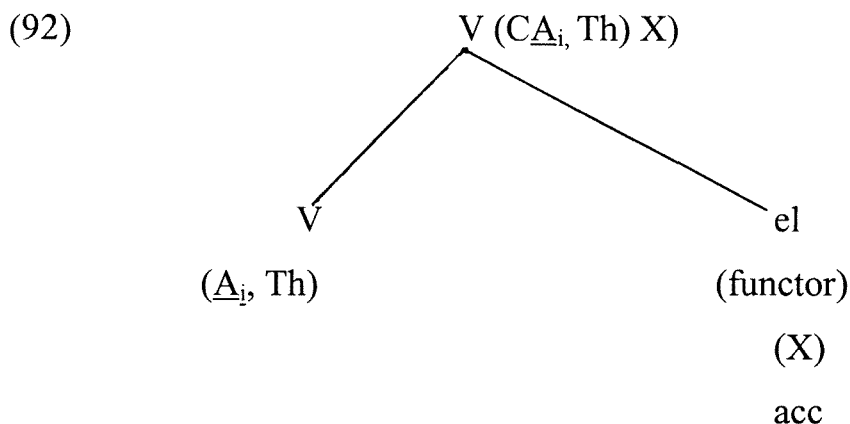
- (90) a. *[Musidzana] u dzula [makhulu]
 (The girl stays the granny)
- b. [Musidzana] u dzulela [makhulu]
 (The girl stays for the granny)

In 90 (b) after suffix **-el-** on the verb [-dzul-], [makhulu] has a reading or interpretation of benefactive.

According to Williams (1991) the applicative constructions are similar to those of the passive except that there is no controller for the external argument of the whole. Williams further suggests the following designations for the assignment of the affix **-el-**:

(91) **-el-**: **f(x)**
acc

In the above example, with **-el-** as functor, all the arguments of the stem are carried over. The argument [X] of **-el-** is the argument of the whole, as **-el-** is the head of the whole. As the head **-el-** has no external argument and does not control the external argument of the stem. The external argument of the nonhead becomes the external argument of the whole as the stem is the head with regard to the external argument.



In (92) above, the applied affix **-el-** is the head because it is a functor. It does not become the head with regard to external argument.

3.6.1. Animate NP complements

The following sentences will show the animate NP complements by the use of applicative **-el-** which end up bringing a reading of malefactive or benefactive:

- (93) a. Zwi dzula [ṇwāv'honi]
 (They stay in the kennel)
- b. Zwi dzulela [zwibwanana] [ṇwāv'honi]
 (They stay for the puppies in the kennel)

In the example sentence 93 (b) above, **-el-** has added an extra accusatively marked internal argument to the verb [dzulela]. The extra argument to the verb [dzwibwanana] is animate, it is assigned a theta-role of malefactive (that they are staying to cause trouble for the puppies) or assign a theta-role of benefactive (that is the puppies are being helped or assisted in the kennel).

3.6.2. Inanimate NP complements

- (94) a. Vha dzula [mukhukhuni]
 (The stay in the shack)
- b. Vha dzulela [zwiḽiwa] mukhukhuni
 (They stay for the food in the shack)

The added extra argument [zwiliwa] is internal and is adjacent to its verb [dzula]. The sentence 94 (b) has an interpretation of purpose because the complement is inanimate.

3.6.3 Applicative –el- and the infinitive

According to Du Plessis and Visser (1996) there are verbs which allow infinitive with or without intransitive constructions.

- (95) a. [Vhasidzana] vha gidima [u bva tshikoloni]
(The girls run from the school)
- b. [Vhasidzana] vha gidimela [u bva tshikoloni]
(The girls run from the school)
- (96) a. [Murivha] u fhufha [u ya masimuni]
(Swarm of birds fly towards the mieliefields)
- b. [Murivha] u fhufhela [u ya masimuni]
(Swarm of birds fly towards the mieliefields)

In the sentences 95 (b) and 96 (b) where suffix –el- has been affixed to the verbs [gidima] and [fhufha] respectively, they both have the reading of purpose.

3.6.4 The applicative and reciprocal

The reciprocal shows the relationship between arguments. The reciprocal **-an-** keeps its positions of object and argument in the PAS of the predicate. The reciprocal, just the same as reflexive, indicates argument binding (an experiencer agent will bind the internal patient argument):

- (97) a. *[Munna] u dzumbamana [kerekeni]
 (The man hides from another in the church)
- b. [Vhanna] vha dzumbamana [kerekeni]
 (The men hide away from others in the church)

The sentence 97 (a) is ungrammatical, reciprocal brings meaningful sentence when it is used in plural form as appeared in 97 (b). Reciprocal can also appear with applicative verbs as demonstrated below:

- (98) a. [Vhanna] vha t̪anganelana [kerekeni]
 (The men gather for each other in the church)
- b. [Vhatambi} vha kuvhanganelana [mudavhini]
 (The players meet for each other in the ground)

In the above sentences 98 (a) the verbs [t̪anganelana] and (b) [kuvhanganelana] bring about a reading of benefactive and also

substitution. There is also a reading of experiencer in that the [vhatambi] meet just for the sake of gathering.

3.6.5 The reflexive and the applicative –el-

In this case the binding of arguments by another arguments is experienced. Lets just look to the sentences below:

- (99) a. [Munna] u khuda [kerekeni]
(The man hides in the church)
- b. [Munna] u dikhudela [kerekeni]
(The man just hide in the church)
- (100) a. [Tshene] i mela [ngadeni]
(The weeds grow in the garden)
- b. [Tshene] i dimelela [ngadeni]
(The weeds just grow in the garden)
- (101) a. [Tshinoni] tshi fhufha [murini]
(The bird flies in the tree)
- b. [Tshinoni] tshi difhufhela [murini]
(The bird just fly in the tree)

According to Du Plessis and Visser (1996) the presence of **-el-** on intransitive verbs creates an internal argument. In the above example sentences there are two distinctive semantic features which are [-cause] and [+independent]. With transitive verbs, it is also possible to find the two semantic features [-cause] and [+independent] where applied verbs are used. The meaning of the reflexive is suppressed.

- (102) a. [Mukalaha] o swa [muliloni]
(The oldman burnt in the fire)
- b. [Mukalaha] o diswela [muliloni]
(The oldman just burnt in the fire)

In this case there is a reading of malefactive.

3.6.6 **Animate NP complements and verbs of existence**

3.6.6.1 **Exist verbs.**

Various interpretations of the verbs of existence that appear with animate NP complements are to be analysed after the sentences below:

- (103) a. [Munna] u dzulela [vhana] [Tshitandani]
(The man stays for the children at Louis Trichardt)

- b. [Mulindi] u lalela [mbava] [muḽini]
(The watchman hides for the thief at home)
- c. [Mbava] i lindela [vhakegulu] [nḽuni]
(The thief waits for the old ladies in the house)

In 103 (a) and (c) there is an interpretation of benefactive and malefactive, while 103 (b) has a reading of malefactive only. In the above sentence examples, 103 (a) to 103 (c), i.e. [vhana], [mbava] and [vhakegulu] are the animate internal NPs adjacent to their respective applicative verbs on which they are dependent.

3.6.6.2 Verbs of entity-specific modes of being.

The animate NP complements cannot appear under the verbs of entity-specific modes of being with the applicative verbs because these verbs are intransitive.

3.6.6.3 Verbs of group existence.

It is evident that most verbs of group existence do not appear with animate NPs dependent on applicative verbs.

- (104) a. [Zwigevhenga] zwi ṽanganela [vhasidzana]
[tshiṽitshini]
(Gangsters meet for the girls at the station)

- b. [Vhafunzi] vha kuvhanganela [vhaswa] [kerekeni]
(The pastor meet for the youth in the church)
- c. [Vhalanda] vha vhuthanela [khosi] [musanda]
(The people gather for the chief at his kraal)

In the sentences above, 104 (a) [vhasidzana], (b) [vhaswa] and (c) [khosi] are the complements of the applicative verbs [tanganela], [kuvhanganela] and [vhuthanela] respectively, which bring a reading of purpose in these sentences. In 104 (a) there is also an interpretation of malefactive, while 116 (b) and (c) have an interpretation of benefactive and malefactive.

The research study in this section indicates that only the verbs of being involving motion which is left out do allow animate NPs to appear with applicative verbs. The other verbs such as the verbs of sound existence, meander verbs, verbs of spatial configuration, as well as verbs of contiguous location do not accept animate NPs to appear with applicative verbs.

3.6.7 Inanimate NP complements and verbs of existence

3.6.7.1 Exist verbs

- (105) a. [Nwana] u dzulela [ma_xlegere] [vhengeleni]
(The child waits for the sweets in the shop)

- b. [Munna] u tshilela [pfunzo] [shangoni]
(The man lives for education on earth)
- c. [Mulwadze] u salela [zwiliwa] [sibadela]
(The patient remains for food at the hospital)

In 105 (a) [malegere], (b) [luvhondo] and (c) [zwiliwa] are inanimate complements of their applicative verbs. The interpretation in 105 (a) and (c) is that of purpose.

3.6.7.2. Verbs of entity – specific modes of being

There is no inanimate NP complements under the verbs of entity – specific modes of being.

3.6.7.3 Verbs of group existence

- (106) a. [Vhabebi] vha kuvhanganela [tshiphuga]
[tshikoloni]
(The parents gather for trophy at the school)
- b. [Vhatendi] vha tanganela [thabelo] [kerekeni]
(The Christians assemble for prayer at the church)
- c. [Phukha] dzi khunyelela [maḁi] [mulamboni]
(Animals gather for water in the river)

The new NP complements in 106 (a) to (c), i.e. [tshiphuga] [thabelo] and [madi] have an interpretation of purpose which have been brought about by the applicative verbs.

3.6.7.4 Verbs of sound existence

- (107) a. [Muimbi] u imbelela [luimbo] [holoni]
(The singer sings the song in the hall)
- b. [Munameli] u zhambelela [bisi] [tshiṭitshini]
(The passenger screams for the bus at the station)

The new NP complements in 107 (a) and (b), i.e. [luimbo] and [bisi] have an interpretation of purpose and malefactive respectively. This has brought by the reduplicative –**el-el-**.

3.6.8 The applicative and the infinitive

This section deals with the verbs of existence which accept the the infinitive with applicative verbs. The theta-roles assigned will also be considered.

3.6.8.1 Exist verbs

The following example sentences will be used to demonstrate the applied exist verbs which assign infinitive clauses which become their internal clausal complements.

- (108) a. [Mbava] dzi lalela [u ṭangula vhathu] [miḁini]
(The thieves hide to rob people at homes)
- b. [Mubiki] u lindela [u thusa vhana] [tshikoloni]
(The cook waits to help children at school)
- c. [Mutshudeni] u dzulela [u vhalā bugu] [hositele]
(The student waits to study books at the hostel)

In 108 (a) [vhathu] is assign a theta-role of malefactive.

3.6.8.2 Verbs of entity – specific modes of being

- (109) a. [Mavhele] a sinela [u laṭwa] [ḁuluni]
(Mealies rot to be thrown away in the silo)
- b. [Mushidzhi] u melela [u liwa] [ngadeni]
(The blackjack grows to be consumed in the garden)
- c. [Ḃama] i vuvela [u gotshwa] [panini]
(The meat decays to be fried in the pan)

In the above sentences with the applicative verbs of entity-specific modes of being, the matrix verb is followed by an infinitive clause as complement. In 109 9a) [ḁuluni], (b) [ngadeni] and (c) [panini] are complements of the infinitive verbs.

3.6.8.3 Verbs of sound existence

Some of the verbs of sound existence do appear with infinitive clausal complements:

- (110) a. [Muthathabo] u ungela [u shavhisa] [mapfene]
[tsimuni]
(The thunder echoes to threaten babooms in the fields)
- b. [Phosho] i pfalela [u vhulaha] [kholoma] [silahani]
(The noise heard to slaughter cow in the abattoir)
- c. [Maḏi] a xaxarela [u bika] [vhuswa] [tshiṭofuni]
(Water boils (resonates) to cook porridge on the stove)

3.6.8.4 Verbs of spatial configuration

- (111) a. [Mutukana] u takuwela [u lwa] [kiḷasini]
(The boy rises to fight in the classroom)
- b. [Tshiṇoni] tshi fhufhela [u kavha] [palani]
(The bird flies to land on the pole)
- c. [Matombo] a dzulela [u wa] [thavhani]
(Rocks stay to fall on the mountain)

In the above sentences, the infinitives, i.e. [u lwa] and [u wa] appear as internal arguments brought by applicative verbs of spatial configuration.

3.6.8.5 Meander verbs

Meander verbs are no exception in the assignment of complements to infinite clauses. This will be demonstrated in the following example sentences:

- (112) a. [Mutukana] u tendelekela [u tswa] [na giratshi]
(The boy roams around the garage to steal)
- b. [_λNowa] i rembuluwela [u luma] [na mulenzhe]
(The snake turns around to bite the leg)

3.6.8.6 Verbs of group existence

- (113) a. [Zwikhokhonono] zwi kuvhanganela [u luma]
[vhathu] [_λdakani]
(The insects come together to bite people in the bush)
- b. [Khwaira] dzi vhuthanela [u mvumvusa]
[vha_λtaledi] [holoni]
(The choirs gather to entertain audience in the hall)

The above sentences of the verbs of group existence are to indicate that infinitives can be complements of matrix verbs. In 113 (a) and (b) above the general interpretation is that of purpose. It is now clear that with applicative and infinitive verbs the reading or interpretation is of purpose.

3.6.8.7 Verbs of modes of being involving motion

- (114) a. [Nwana] u tetemelela [u fa] [phephoni]
(The child shivers to die in the cold)
- b. [Mufunzi] u mbwandamelela [u lovhedza]
[tivhani]
(The pastor submerges to baptize in the pool)

3.6.8.8 Verbs of contiguous location

- (115) a. [Nwana] u tevhelela [u mama] [mme]
(The child follows to suck the mother)
- b. [Makole] a tibela [u swifhadza] [duvha]
(The clouds cover to darken the sun)

In the above sentences, the infinitives in 115 (a) [u mama] and [u swifhadza] in 115 (b) become internal clausal complements. With the applicative **-el-** the interpretation of purpose is brought about.

3.6.9 THE REFLEXIVE AND APPLICATIVE **-el-**.

The effect of the applicative verbs of existence with the reflexive will be examined. The reflexive **di-** is defined as an element that brings about binding between the agent and the internal argument.

3.6.9.1 **Exist verbs**

Applicative exist verbs appear with reflexive- this can be demonstrated in the sentences below:

(116) a. [Vhasidzana] vho didzulela [tshisimani]
(The girls just stay at the well)

b. [Vhakegulu] vha disalela [mudini]
(The old women just remain at home)

In these sentences, the reflexive **di-** is dependent of the applicative **-el-**. The interpretation brought about by [didzulela] and [disalela] is one of [- cause], [+ independent]

3.6.9.2 **Verbs of entity-specific modes of being**

(117) a. [Khuni] dzi a didugela
(The woods just burn)

- b. [Nama] yo ðivuv_Λela
(The meat just decayed)

In the above sentence example 117 (a) and (b) the applied verbs of entity – specific modes of being, similar to exist verbs, display a reading of [-cause], [+ independent].

3.6.9.3 Verbs of modes of being involving motion

- (118) a. [Tshin_Λoni] tshi ðibabamelela [vhulimboni]
(The bird just flutter in the trap)
- b. [Tar_Λi] lo ðitengame_Λla [mað_Λini]
(The leaf just floated on the water)

These applied verbs of being involving motion also have a reading of [-cause], [+independent].

3.6.9.4 Verbs of sound existence

- (119) a. [Goloi] i ðibvumela [badani]
(The car just sound on the road)
- b. [Khali] i ðixaxarela [tshit_Λangani]
(The pot just resonate in the kitchen)

3.6.9.5 Verbs of group existence

When the applicative **-el-** and reflexive are applied under verbs of group existence, the reading of [-cause], [+independent] come into existence as indicated below:

- (120) a. [Vhatukana] vha $\underset{\lambda}{\text{dikuvhanganela}}$ [tshikoloni]
(The boys just gather at school)
- b. [Vhadabe] vha $\underset{\lambda}{\text{ditanganela}}$ [muedzini]
(The senior initiates just gather in the valley)

3.6.9.6 Verbs of spatial configuration

- (121) a. [Maivha] a $\underset{\lambda}{\text{dikavhela}}$ [murini]
(The doves just land in the tree)
- b. [$\underset{\lambda}{\text{Thu}}\underset{\lambda}{\text{dwa}}$] i $\underset{\lambda}{\text{ditshingamela}}$ [tivhani]
(The Giraffe just bends towards the pool)

The above sentences have a reading of [-cause],
[+ independent].

3.6.9.7 Meander verbs

The Meander verbs, just like other verbs of existence can appear with reflexive $\underset{\lambda}{\text{di-}}$ as demonstrated below:

- (122) a. [Muimbi] u $\dot{\chi}$ itendelekela [na holo]
(The singer just linger around the hall)
- b. [Nguluvhe] i $\dot{\chi}$ imonamonela [tshitumbani]
(The pig just wander around the pigsty)

3.6.9.8 Verbs of contiguous location

- (123) a. [Mmbwa] i $\dot{\chi}$ itevhelela [mbava]
(The dog just follow the thief)
- b. [Munna] u $\dot{\chi}$ ipfukela [mulambo]
(The man just cross the river)
- c. [Ndau] dzi $\dot{\chi}$ itangela [mbidi]
(The lions just surround the zebras)

CHAPTER FOUR

4. CONCLUSION.

The main aim of this chapter is to conclude the work reflected in the previous chapters, i.e. the interpretation of the predicate argument structure (PAS) of verbs of existence and also the compatibility between these verbs and its alternations e.g. locative inversion.

It has been distinguished that verbs of existence have various PAS, such as PAS: [X (Loc Y)], PAS: [X], PAS: [X (na Y)] and PAS: [X (na – y) (Loc z)] as depicted in chapter two. These verbs assign an agent to the external NP argument with animate i.e. [+ human] or [+ animal] feature.

Examples of verbs of existence with PAS: [X (Loc. Y)].

Exist verbs

As reflected in 2.2.2 in 1 (a)

- (1) [Musadzi] u dzula [mukhukhuni]
(The woman lives in a shack)

Verbs of modes of being involving motion

As reflected in 2.4.2 in 41 (b).

- (2) [Fulaga] i fhefheda [muyani]
(The flag sways in the air)

Verbs of sound existence

As reflected in 2.5.2 in 61 (b)

- (3) [Mbeu] dzi thathaba [mavuni]
(The seeds burst open in the soil)

Verbs of group existence

As reflected in 2.6.2 in 72 (a)

- (4) [Vhathu] vho khunyelela [tshikoloni]
(People have gathered at the school)

Verbs of spatial configuration

As reflected in 2.7.2 in 78 (a)

- (5) [Vhagidimi] vha fhufha [mudavhini]
(The athletes jump at the sports ground)

Most of the exist verbs assign an argument with an [+animate] or [-animate] feature. These verbs assign a theta role of agent or theme to

their external arguments. The internal arguments are assigned the theta- role of location.

Examples of existence with PAS: [X].

Verbs of entity – specific modes of being

As reflected in 2.3.2 in 20 (b)

- (6) [Nama] i a sina
 _λ
 (The meat rots)

The PAS of these verbs is only [X], i.e they have only an external argument. All of them have patient as external argument.

Examples of the verbs of existence with PAS: [X (na y)]

Meander verbs

As reflected in 2.8.2 in 91 (a)

- (7) [Muimbi] u tendeleka [na shango]
 (The singer roams around the country)
- (8) [Zwifuwo] zwi tekateka [na gammaba]
 (Livestock wander through the camp)

Meander verbs, as verbs of motion, describe the location of long object. The feature [+animate] is assigned in all meander verbs. They assign a theta role of agent or patient to their external argument.

The meander verbs also assign an argument to the PP with **na** as head.

Examples of the verbs of group existence with PAS: [X (na – y) (Loc – z)]

Verbs of group existence

As reflected in 2.6.2 in 69 (a):

(9) [Kholomo] dzi-~~do~~- kuvhangana [na ~~na~~mana] [dangani]

(The cows will gather with calves in the kraal)

(10) [Vhana] vha – ~~do~~ – ~~tho~~phana [na vhadededzi] [ki]asini]

(The learners will squeeze with the educators in the classroom)

Most of these verbs appear with a **na**- phrase. They also appear with locative phrases.

In chapter THREE it is clear that verbs of existence are compatible with several syntactic operations, such as locative inversion, locative subject inversion, causative alternation and others. It is also discovered that the Tshivenda word order switches from [S V LOC] to [LOC V S], for example:

- (11) a. [Munna] u dzula [mukhukhuni]
(The man lives in a shack)
- b. [Mukhukhuni] hu dzula [munna]
(In a shack lives the man)

Verbs of entity-specific modes being and the verbs of contiguous location do not allow locative inversion, for they do not assign locative arguments. In comparing the locative inversion with subject inversion, it is clear that the latter's word order switches from [NP V LOC] to [V NP LOC], as reflected in 3.2 in 26 (b):

- (12) Hu dzula mutukana [Tshitandani]
(It is lived by the boy at Louis Trichardt)

It is further observed that both locative inversion and subject inversion assign a locative argument. Subject inversion relies on relative clause constructions can indicate focus and stylistic movement.

Some verbs of existence allow the causative as reflected in 3.3.1 in (39):

- (13) [Musidzana] u lindisa [mme] [tsimu]
(The girl makes the mother to look after the field)

In this case a reading of assistive, permissive or causative is brought about.

Causativization also brings to reading of malefactive, as reflected in 3.3.9 in 60 (b);

- (14) [Khotsi] vha tikisa [mutukana] [thanga]
(The father makes the boy to support the roof)

With the exception of meander verbs and the verbs of contiguous location, verbs of existence are found to be compatible with location subject alternation. In this case locative arguments change to non-location as reflected in 3.5 in 70 (a) and (b):

- (15) a. [Tshene] i mela [ngadeni]
(The weeds grow at the garden)
- b. [Ngade] yo mela [tshene]
(The garden grew the weeds)

The verbs of existence accept locative instrument alternation, for example:

Verbs of modes of being involving motion

- (16) [Mutukana] u monamona [na kereke]
(The boy moves around the church)

Meander verbs

- (17) [Muimbi] u tendeleka [na holo]
(The singer lingers through the hall)

The applicative is also found to be compatible with verbs of existence, such verbs are exist verbs, verbs of entity-specific modes of being and the verbs of being involving motion. With NP [+ animate] complements, the applicative verbs of existence may give rise to interpretation of benefactive, substitution and malefactive, as indicated below:

- (18) U fhufhela [murivha] [masimuni]
(Swarm of birds fly towards the mealiefields)

Some times there may be a reading of purpose and an interpretation of benefactive with [-animate] NPs with the feature [+ human] control, as in the following examples:

- (19) a. Vha gidimela [vhasidzana] [tshikoloni]
(They run for girls at school)
- b. Vha dzulela [zwiliwa] [mukhukhuni]
(They stay for the food in the shack)

Applicative verbs of existence with the reflective give rise to an interpretation of [-cause] and [+independent] as reflected in 3.6.5 in 99 (b):

- (20) [Munna] u dikhudela [kerekeni]
(The man just hide in the church)

It is also clear that the applicative and the reciprocal may have a reading of benefactive or substitution or malefactive with some exist verbs and to a lesser extent with verbs of group existence as reflected in 3.6.4 in 98 (b):

- (21) [Vhatambi] vha kuvhanganelana [mudavhini]
(The players meet for each other in the ground)

The interpretation of location or purpose is brought about by the applicative suffix **-el-** and reciprocal suffix **-an-**.

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